

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
*Original, Countrey, Manners,
Government & Religion*
OF THE
COSSACKS.

With another of the
Precopian TARTARS:
And the HISTORY of the WARS
of the COSSACKS against
POLAND.

London, Printed by T.N. for H. K. and are to
be sold by Robert Boulter at the Turks
Head in Cornhill. 1673.

Robert, Cholmondeley
Booke,

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DISC

Original Copy of Manuscript
of the COSMOS

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of the COSMOS
against

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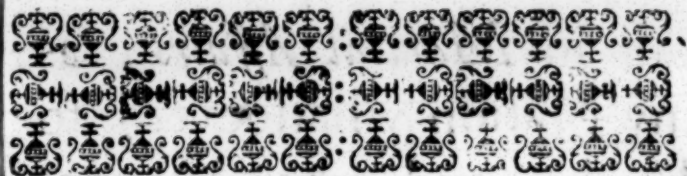
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THE
P R E F A C E.



Although *Ukraine*
be one of the most
remote Regions
of *Europe*, and
the *Cossackian* name very Mo-
dern; yet hath that Coun-
trei been of late the Stage of
Glorious Actions, and the In-
habitants have acquitted
themselves with as great Va-
A 2 lour

The Preface.

lour in *Martial Affairs*, as any Nation whatsoever; so that this, and other Motives have made me earnest to put this account of it into English, where it cannot be otherwise then acceptable, since the Description of a Countrey little written of, and the achievements of a daring People, must needs be grateful to those, who of all the World, are the most curious and inquisitive, and the greatest lovers of bold Attempts and Bravery. The Ocean is our delight, and our
En

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Engagements upon the Seas, have rendred us considerable to the World. The *Cossacks* do in some measure imitate us, who took their rise from their Victories upon the *Euxine*, and settled themselves by incountring the *Tartars* in those Desart Plains, which do so far resemble the Sea, that the *Mariners Compass* may be useful for Direction in the one, as well as the other. Nor can this short *Treatise* be unseasonable, since most have their eyes upon this Countrey at present ;

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and it is already feared, that the *Turks* or *Tartars* should make their Inroads this Summer into *Poland* through *Ukraine*, scarce a *Gazette* without mentioning something of it; and our preparations in the Western Parts, will probably, at the same time, be accompanied with great attempts upon the most *Eastern* Frontiers of *Europe*.

Michael Koributh, Duke of *Wisnowitz* performed great Services for his Countrey, during the former Rebellions; since which it hath pleased
Pro-

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Providencè to raise up another *Mich. Wisnowitski*, and place the Crown of *Poland* on His Head, after an extraordinary and unexpected manner. A Reward, I hope, for their Families former Faithfulness, and a Terror to the greatest Enemy of *Christendom*.

If this *Great Prince* therefore shall try his Fortune of Arms against Sultan *Mahomet Han*, or the *Cham*, or by reducing the *Cossacks* to their obedience, make the World have as great an esteem of

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him, as the States of *Poland* who elected him, the *Plains, Woods, Rivers, Rocks*, near which, these *Battels* shall be decided, will be worth the considering, for the better understanding of their *History*, and the Description of the *Countrey, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, will much inform us in the Affairs of those *Eastern Parts*.

The *Author* of this *Work* was a *Commander*, and employed his *Sword* in *Foreign Countreys*, as well as his *Pen*,

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Pen, and his living long in *Poland*, gave him sufficient opportunity to make these observations which he hath transmitted to us, and which are the more considerable, because they Treat of many places not Conquered by the *Romans*, nor described, but by few. *Ovids* banishment was Neighboring, but not full so Remote, Desert, and Melancholy, as some of these parts; and yet so considerable a Passage have they always been, That the greatest Incurfions into *Europe* have

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have been in all times through these Countreys, and whole Nations have come in upon us this way, to the destruction of our cheifest *States* and *Empires*.

The Actions of *Kmielniski*, General of the *Cossacks*, are very remarkable; and how he raised himself to that greatness, as to be feared by a Nation, which neither the Power of *Christendom*, nor the *Turks* could shake. Most of whose Performances are discoursed of in this small *Treatise*; and whatsoever is wanting

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wanting of his life, or to make this a more accurate Description of those Countreys, must be imputed to the slender Traffick or Commerce they maintain with other Nations, and the little regard they have themselves to commit their own Actions to Posterity. And, I hope, it will be thought more strange, that there is any thing at all said of them, then that there is so little. The long unusual Names of Persons and Places may be also pardoned, seeing they are not to be altered;

The Preface.

ed ; and what is amiss in the
Translation, I hope, may be
passed over, since the whole is
presented you with no other
design, but to serve you.

Edw. Brown.

A

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A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

*Countrey, Manners, Government,
Original and Religion,*

OF THE

COSSACKS.



He name of *Cossacks* was given them by reason of their Address and Agility in penetrating even in the most difficult and dangerous places such as the mouth of the *Boristhenes*, whereby they made War with the *Turks* and *Tartars*. *Cosa* signifying in Polish, a Goat.

A

Long

Long agoe from the time of *Sigismund* the I. there were Volunteers from the frontiers of *Russia*, *Wolhinia*, *Podolia*, and other Provinces of *Poland*, which met together to practise their Pyracies upon the *Black sea* where they ordinarily met with considerable advantages, and brought away rich booty both from the Turkish Gallies and from the places where they often landed in *Natolia*, where they pillaged and sacked whole Towns, as that of *Trebisonde* and *Synopa*, having the boldness sometimes to come within two Leagues of *Constantinople*, and carry away prisoners and plunder: at the latter end of the year these adventurers retired home, appointing first their Rendezvous where they were to meet in the Spring in some of the Islands or Rocks of the *Boristhenes*, from thence again to make their excursions.

King *Stephen Batory*, to whom *Poland* is beholden for many good Rules, considering the service which he might draw from these Rovers, towards the defence of the frontiers of *Russia* and
Podolia

Podolia, which lay always exposed to the incursions of the *Tartars*, formed a Militia out of them, and gave them the Town of *Trethymirow* upon the *Boristhenes* for a Garrison, made a General over them, and gave him power to make under-Officers, granting them besides their pay, divers priviledges and immunities, and joyned to this Infantry of the *Cossacks* two thousand Horse, for the subsistence of which he designed the fourth part of his Crown-Lands whence they were called *Quartani*, and by corruption *Quartiani*.

These forces thus established for the guard of the frontiers, did so secure it against the irruptions of the *Tartars* that all the desert Countrey, beyond the Towns of *Bracklaw*, *Bar*, and *Kiowia*, began to be peopled, and many Towns and Fortresses were built there, every one bringing in Colonies from the neighboring Provinces.

This Militia thus regulated, sustained it self and rendred good service to the

Crown of *Poland*, without comparison, more profitably then before, when being dispersed and scattered about, they could not act together in company. Yet as this union was so advantageous for the making head against the *Tartars*, and for defending of the Frontiers, so in short time it became prejudicial and destructive to the *Poles*, against whom they many times rebelled; for the *Cossacks* finding themselves to be of such importance, would scarce receive any Orders from their Superiors, nor acknowledge their Masters upon whom they depended. Their first Rebellion was in 1587. under *John Podkova*, their General, who was overthrown, and in the end lost his head.

In the year 1596. King *Sigismund* the III. having prohibited their Pyracies on the *Black Sea*, upon the complaints which he received from the Grand Signior; they did indeed give them over, but it was that they might fall upon *Russia* and *Lithuania* with the greater force, where they committed unheard of violence
unde

under the Conduct of *Naleuaiko* their General. In vain were Orders sent for their disarming and returning home, they despised all, and united themselves more strictly under their head, to resist the Polish Army, which General *Zolkiewski* was forced to bring against them, him therefore they expected with a firm resolution near the City of *Bialicerkiew* and fought the Polanders, and at first got the better, but *Zolkiewski*, who was a great Warriour, having at length shut them in, and forced them into disadvantageous stations, obliged them to deliver up *Naleuaiko*, who had the same end with his Predecessor.

In 1637. the *Cossacks* revolted again, but with as bad success as before, the cause of their Revolt was, That divers of the Polish Nobility having obtained by gift some Lands upon those frontiers, and in those places designed for the quartering of this Militia, the more to augment their Revenues they were desirous to bring their new Subjects to the same days works as those of the other

Provinces of *Poland* are bound to ; and therefore they perswaded King *Uladeflaus* and the States, that it was necessary to chastise the insolency of the *Cossacks*, they being able most of all to cross this designe, as being a free people, and causing by their example the other Country-men to bear their yolk more impatiently. So that it was resolved that a Fort should be built in a place called *Kudak*, upon the *Boristhenes*, a scituation very proper for the brideling of the *Cossacks*, it being near the *Porobi* or Rocks of the River which they made use of for their most secure Retreat, and because they did immediately mistrust Colonel *Marion* a Frenchman, whom the General *Koniespolski* had left with two hundred men to build this Fort, he caused part of his Troops to winter there till it might be fit for defence. The *Cossacks* understanding well upon what designe this Fort was built, took the Alarme at the first, and gathered themselves together in the greatest number that they could, but entering at that very time when they had most need of union, into discord and distrust

trust of their General *Sawałonowicz* ; after they had massacred him they chose one *Paulucus* in his place, a man of small Conduct and Experience, and soon after payed for the folly of their choice, being met withal by Marshal *Potosky* about *Korsun*, and having but few Horse with them were easily defeated, those who fled, cast themselves into *Borowits*, which *Potoski* immediately besieged, and seeing that the place was not furnished with any manner of provisions, they were forced to deliver into his hands their General *Paulucus* and four other of their principal Officers, who had their Heads cut off at *Warsaw* while the Diet was held there the year following, notwithstanding that they had had their lives promised them, which the States would not then allow of.

The loss of their Generals was seconded by the loss of their priviledges and the Town of *Trethymirow* granted to them formerly by King *Stephen*, and at engh also by the suppression of their Militia, which the King of *Poland* Commanded

his Officers to change into a new form, such an one as might be more fit for obedience.

Notwithstanding these disgraces they lost not their courage at all, but did their utmost to maintain their liberty.

After they had tried again the fortune of the war against General *Potoski*, and found themselves considerably weakened by divers encounters, they intrenched themselves beyond the *Boristhenes*, upon the River *Starcza*, and for more then two Months sustained many assaults from the *Poles*, who after having lost many of their own men, were constrained to capitulate with these desperate people, and to promise them that they should be re-established in their Priviledges and their Militia of six thousand men set on foot again as before, under the Command of a General appointed by the King, but these Articles were not better kept with them then the former, and the most part of their men upon their going off, were either slain or plundered by the soldiers
of

of the *Polish* Army ; neither was their Militia reestablished, but a new one was set up, their General being changed, and the true *Cossacks* themselves excluded.

The Damage which ensued upon this change was soon after very sensible, for the *Tartars* made an inroad two years after, entred a great way into the *Ukrain*, and destroyed the Territories about *Pereaslaw*, *Corfun* and *Wisnowitz*, whither before this disbanding of the *Cossacks* they were not wont to approach. They were therefore some time after set up again, and King *Vladislaus*, who made great account of this Militia in the war, which he intended to make against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, was no small contributor to their total reestablishment, making *Bogdan Kmielniski*, one of their own body, General over them, and withal increasing their number.

From all this discourse we may at present infer, that the *Cossacks* are rather a Militia than a Nation, as most have thought, and we cannot better compare them

them then to the free Archers formerly established in *France* by *Charles* the VII. who were persons fit for Arms chosen out of all the Towns of his Dominion, and who upon the first Orders from the King, were bound to meet at a general Rendezvous, and to serve in the wars; by which they were exempted from all Taxes and Imposts. The *Cossacks* are the same, chosen and listed in *Russia*, *Volhinia* and *Podolia*, and who enjoying many exemptions and priviledges, are in like manner bound to march where-soever they are commanded; formerly they had no more then one onely Town for their retreat, as hath been already observed, and the *Porohi* of the *Boristhenes*, from whence they were called *Zaporouski Cossacks*, and are hereby distinguished from the *Cossacks* in *Moscovia* and from those upon the River *Don* or *Tanaïs*.

Porohi, is a *Russian* term, signifying a rocky Stone; this River at fifty Leagues from the mouth of it, is crossed with a ridge of Rocks, which maketh a kind of damme

damme or cataract, and by this means rendreth the Navigation in those parts impossible, and taketh away from *Ukrain* the means of enriching it self by the Traffick which it might otherwise have with *Constantinople* for Corn and other Merchandises in which it aboundeth as much as any other Countrey in the world; some of these Rocks are even with the water, others are above the water, the height of six, eight, and ten feet, and from this inequality there are in the River divers cascades or falls which the *Cossacks* themselves doe not pass but with a great deal of danger; there are thirteen of these falls, some of which are fourteen or fifteen foot high, when the water is low, and it is as necessary for a true *Zaporouski Cossack* to have passed these falls, and to have made a voyage upon the *Black Sea*, as for a Knight of *Maltha* before he come to the dignity of that Order, to have been in a Summers Expedition against the *Turks*.

Below the *Porohi* there are divers Islands in the River *Boristhenes*, and amongst

mongst others there is one very remarkable, somewhat lower then the entrance of the River *Czertomelik*, compassed about with thousands of other little Isles, some of which are dry, others marshy, and all of them covered with Reeds, in such manner as it is hard to perceive the Channels which separate them; into this place, and into these windings and turnings the *Cossacks* make their retreat, which they call their *Skarbnisa, Woyskowa*, that is to say, the Treasure of their Army, and here they shut up their booty which they have taken in their Pyracies upon the *Black Sea*, the access to this place is so difficult and dangerous, that many *Turkish* Gallies in pursuing them thither, have been lost, and it is here that the *Cossacks* hold their Rendezvous before they put out to sea.

After their arrival they choose a General to Conduct and Command them in their Expedition, and then fall to work about their Boats, which are about three-score foot long, and eleven or twelve foot broad, they have no Keel, but are
built

built onely upon a bottom of Willow or Limetree, sided or raised with plancks, which they pin one into another ; the better to steer them when they are forced to flye, they have two Oars or Skulls on purpose, their sides are strengthened with Roaps of Reeds, as thick as a Barrel, to sustain these Boats against the fury of the waves, they have ordinarily ten or twelve Oars on each side, and rowe swifter then the *Turkish* Gallies ; they have but a bad sail, and make use of it onely in fair weather, and choose rather to rowe when the wind is high ; for their provisions in their voyage they take with them Biscuit, put up in a Tunn, and as they have use for it, take it out at the bung : besides this, they have a Barrel of boiled Millet, and another of Paste mingled with water which they eat with the Millet, and it serves them both for meat and drink, and is counted by them a delicious dish ; they carry no *Aqua-vitæ* nor other Strong-waters, for although they be as subject to drunkenness as any other Northern Nation, yet they are wonderfully sober in War.

They

They meet ordinarily to the number of five or six thousand men; about threescore of them are imployed to the making of one Boat, and in three weeks time the whole company makes ready about fourscore or an hundred; fifty or threescore men goe in each Boat, armed with five or six Faulcons, and every one with two Harquebuses, and Powder and Ball sufficient. Their Admiral hath a Flag upon his Mast to distinguish him from the rest, they rowe altogether and so close, that their Oars touch one another, they wait till the latter quarter of the Moon, to get out of the River *Boristenes*, that they may by the help of the obscurity of some dark night, not be eyed by the *Turkish* Galleys who wait ordinarily at *Oczakow*, a Town of the *Turks* at the mouth of the River on purpose to observe them; so soon as they are discovered, all the Countrey is in Alarme as far as *Constantinople*, from whence they dispatch Couriers to all the coasts of *Natolia*, *Romelia* and *Bulgaria*, that all may stand upon their guard, but such is the diligence and swiftnes of the
Cossacks,

Cossacks, that they ordinarily prevent and outgoe the Couriers who are to bring news of their coming, knowing so well to take their opportunity by the time and season, that they often get into *Natolia* in the space of forty hours.

When they meet with any Galley or Vessel (which they discover better, and at a greater distance then they can be discovered) their Boats being but two foot and an half above water) they approach towards them till night, keeping at about a Leagues distance, and then well observing the place where they saw the vessel, they begin to rowe about midnight with all their force, and encompassing it about, take it at unawares, it being impossible for a Vessel beset with such a number of Boats all at once, to disingage or defend itself; they take out the Money, Guns, and all the Merchandise which they can conveniently carry away, and afterwards sink the ship, they being not dextrous enough to carry her off, but as they have this advantage by night over ships and Gallies,
so

so they are at great disadvantage by day, for these with their great Cannon shot scatter them, and kill many of their men, and then especially when they doe most vigorously prosecute their fight; from whence they oft bring back but halfe their equipage, though true it is, that they are seldom taken, by reason when they are pursued, they can retire into the Reeds or near the shoares, where the Galleys cannot come. The Grand Signior hath often complained of their Pyracies to the King of *Poland*, who never yet gave him any greater satisfaction for his Damages, then he hath received from him, for the inroads of the *Tartars*, to whom their could never be raised up a more sutable Enemy then these *Cossacks*.

As to their manner of making war by Land, they are better Foot-men then Horse, they are patient, and laborious, obedient to their Commanders, and extremely dextrous at casting up earth, and intrenching; and not onely so, but also at another kind of ambulatory way
of

of intrenching, which they perform by an handsome and orderly manner of disposing their * Chariots, which is absolutely necessary when they march through those great desert Plains, where the *Tartars* run about continually : a thousand *Cossacks* thus defended with their Chariots, will make head against six thousand of those Infidels, who seldom alight from their Horses, so that a Ditch or a small baricado is able to stop them, it would be very difficult in any other Countrey to make an Army march thus in the middle of Chariots, there being few Countreys in the world so flat and even as that.

* This is called their *Tabor*.

The Countrey inhabited by the *Cossacks* is called *Ukrain*, which signifies the Frontier, it extends it self beyond *Volhinia* and *Podolia*, and maketh a part of the Palatinates of *Kiovia* and *Bracław*, some years since they made themselves Masters of these Provinces, and of a part of *black Russia*, which they have been forced since to quit : this Countrey lieth between the 51 and

48 degree of Latitude, below which there is nothing but desert Plains as far as the *Black Sea*, which on one hand are extended to the *Danube*, and on the other to *Palus Maotis*, the Grass of which Countrey groweth to an incredible length.

Ukrain is very fruitful, and so is *Russia* and *Podolia*, and if the Earth be never so little cultivated, it produceth all sort of Grain so plentifully, that the inhabitants know not for the most part what to doe with it; their Rivers not being navigable, whereby to transport it; they have all sorts of Cattel, and of Game, and Fish in abundance, Honey, and Wax in great quantity, Wood which serves them to build their Houses, they want nothing but Wine and Salt, the former they have out of *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, which their Beer and Mead and *Aquavite*, made out of Corn, and much loved by them, doth supply them with; for their Salt, they are supplied with that from the Salt-works of *Vielicza* near *Cracow*, or from *Pokutia*, which is

a Countrey of *Poland*, joyning to *Transylvania* and *Moldavia*, where the water of most of the Wells is salt, and being boiled, as they doe the white Salt in *France*, it is made up into little Cakes; this Salt is very grateful to the taste, but it salteth not so well as the Salt of *Brouage* in *France*. All the Houses in this Countrey are of Wood, the same as in *Moscovy* and in *Poland*, the Walls of the Towns are of Earth, kept up by Stakes, or Piles with Planks cross them, such as damms are made with, they are subject to fire, but resist Cannon shot better than plaistered Walls.

The principal Rivers are the *Nieper* or *Boristhenes*, the *Bog*, the *Niester* or *Tyras*, which bounds *Walachia*, the *Dez-na*, the *Ros*, the *Horin*, the *Slucz*, the *Ster*, and many other lesser Rivers and Streams, by the number of which we may judge of the goodness of the Soil.

The most considerable Towns and Fortresses possessed by the *Cossacks* are *Kiovia*, where there is a Palatinate and

a Metropolitan Greek Church, *Bialacerkiew*, *Korsun*, *Constantinow*, *Bar*, *Czarkassi*, *Czebrin*, *Kudak*, *Jampol*, at a passage over the *Niester*, *Braclaw* upon the *Bog*, a Palatinacy, *Winnicza*, *Human*, *Czernihow*, *Pereaslav*, *Lubnie*, *Pawoloiz*, *Chwaszow*, all these places have been fortified within these few years; and the *Sieur de Beauplan*, a French Ingenier in the service of the Great General *Koniespolki*, and to whom the publick is obliged for two exact Maps which he hath made of the *Ukrain*, hath delineated and traced the Fortifications of the most part of these places, besides which, there is not a Town or Habitation which hath not a Rampant, or is not at least defended with a Ditch to secure it self against the assaults of the *Tartars*, who come often to visit these Countreys.

The Peasants in *Ukrain*, and the neighbouring Provinces are like Slaves, the same as they are in almost all places of *Poland*, being forced to work three or four days in the week for their Landlords,

lords, and are charged besides with many other duties, as of Corn and Fowl, for the Lands which they hold, and to pay the Tenth of Sheep and Hogs, and all Fruit, and to carry Wood and do divers other days works; add to this the ill treatment which they receive from the Jews, who are Farmers of the Noblemens Lands, and who before the wars did exact all these Duties with a great deal of rigor; and besides that had Farmed out the Brewing of Beer, and the making of Strong-waters, so that we need not wonder so much at their frequent revolting, and that in these last wars they disputed and defended their liberty with so much obstinacy; for this severe servitude hath disclosed all these brave *Zaporowski Cossacks*, whose number is much increased of late years, through the despair into which, the severity of the Gentlemen and the Jews, cast the people of this Frontier, which hath constrained them to seek their Liberties, or the end of their Miseries among the rest.

The inhabitants of *Ukrain*, who are all at present called *Cossacks*, and glory in carrying that name, are of a good stature, active, strong, and dextrous in what they doe, liberal, and little caring to gather Riches, great lovers of Liberty, and that cannot suffer any yolk; unwearied, bold and brave, but very great drunkards; perfidious and treacherous; they delight in Hunting and Fishing, and in all Arts necessary to a Countrey-life, and to war, they have also this peculiar Art, that they understand best how to prepare Salt-peter with which their Countrey aboundeth, and from whence great quantity is transported into divers places of *Europe*; they carry much of it to *Dantzick* where the *Hollanders* and other Nations receive it.

This Countrey is very much incommodated with Flies, which sting so fiercely in Summer, as to make their faces all swelled, who doe not lie under a kind of Net made like a soldiers Hut, covered with a cotton Cloth tucked in

on the sides, and hanging down half a foot below the Bed, so that there may be left no place open : but they are much more infested with Locusts which come in some years, especially in very dry seasons ; they are brought by an *East* or *southeast* wind out of *Tartary*, *Carcassia*, and *Mengrelia*, which Countreys are scarce ever free from them ; they come in clouds of five or six Leagues long, and three or four Leagues broad, and darken the Air in such sort, that the most clear weather becomes dusky ; wheresoever they stay, they reap all the Corn in less then two hours time, though it be but green : these Insects live but six months ; in the places where they stay ; in *Autumn* they lay their Eggs , every one about three hundred, and in the following spring they are hatched, and if the weather be drie, turn into so many Locusts, the great Rains kill them, and by this means this Countrey is delivered from that scourge, or else by the *North* and *North-west* winds, which drive them into the *Black sea*, when they are newly hatch-

ed, and are not yet turned into Flies, they creep into Houses, into Beds, upon the Tables, and upon the Meat, so that they cannot eat without swallowing some of them: in the night they fall down into the high-ways and fields, which are sometimes covered with them, and when a Chariot comes to pass over them, they send forth an intolerable ill smell.

The *Russians* and *Cossacks* are afflicted with a disease called by the Physicians, *Plica*, and in the language of the Countrey *Goschest*, they who are seized with it, loose the use of their Limbs, as Paralytical persons doe, feeling great pains in their Nerves; this is followed by a great sweat in their Head, and after that, their Hair is all glued together, at which time the palsie leaveth them, but their Hair remaineth wreathed and in Elves-locks; this disease which is incident to Horses as well as Men, is thought incurable in that Countrey, but the *Sieur de Beauplan* assures us he hath cured many, by treating them in the
same

same manner as those who are infected with the *Lues Venerea*, and some have been insensibly delivered from it by the change of Air in passing from one Countrey to another ; this disease proceedeth according to the common opinion from the crudity or some other bad quality of their waters ; and this is remarkable in it, that it is communicated by Coition, as the *French Pox* : Some Children bring it with them into the world, and are cured as they grow up.

The language of the *Cossacks* is a dialect of the *Polonian*, as that is of the *Slavonian* ; it is very delicate, and aboundeth in Diminutives and pretty Fashions, and Manners, of elegant Speech.

As to their Religion, they make profession of the *Greek*, received in this Countrey in the year 942. in the Reign of *Wlodomir* Prince of *Russia*, the greater part of the Gentlemen profess either the *Catholick*, *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist*.

The

The Principal points in the *Greek Religion* wherein they differ from the *Latine* are, *That they doe not admit of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, but from the Father only,* thinking that if they should believe him to proceed from both, it would suppose in him a double Understanding, and a double Will.

The *Greeks* also deny Purgatory, saying, *That every one after this life according to his actions in it, is to expect the day of judgement; the good in pleasant and delicious places with the good spirits, and the evil in frightful and terrible habitations in company of the bad: founding this their belief upon that passage of Scripture, Venite benedicti patris mei possidere regnum cœlorum, &c. & ite maledicti in ignem æternum;* from whence they pretend to prove that there is no other judgement but that of the end of the world, it seeming to them incongruous that this sentence should be pronounced against those who are already judged.

They

They doe not admit of the single lives of Priests, and receive none to that function but such as are married, beleeving that the Roman Priests are anathematized by the Council held at Gangra in the fourth Canon of which it is said, *Qui spernit sacerdotem secundum legem uxorem habentem, dicens quod non liceat de manibus ejus Sacramentum sumere anathema sit*: and in another place, *omnis sacerdos & diaconus propriam uxorem dimittens, sacerdotio privetur*, so that they hold Marriage to be so Essential to the priesthood that a Priest when he burieth his Wife can no longer exercise his sacerdotal Functions; these Priests are ordinarily taken out of Colledges or Monasteries, where they choose those of longest standing and greatest abilities.

They refuse all Councils, since the seventh Oecumenical Assembled under Pope *Adrian*, in which they say it was determined, that all things decided and resolved of in the preceding Council, till that time, should remain firm and stable

stable for ever, but that whosoever for the future should assemble any other Council, or meet at it, should be an *Anathema*, so that they count all what hath been determined of in the Church since that time to be Heretical and corrupted. The Fathers which they follow, are *S. Bazile*, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, *S. Chrysostome*; they read also the Morals of *S. Gregory the Great*, and having a great opinion of their Sanctity, they hold in great Veneration all the Popes who were before the Seventh Council. They celebrate their Liturgy in *Greece*, and in *Natolia* in the antient *Greek* Language, but the *Muscovites* and *Russians* have it in their own, yet they also mix some *Greek* Hymnes with it, they consecrate with leavened Bread, and think it strange that the *Roman* Priests should make use of unleavened, and should imitate the *Jews* in this, and yet not retain their Sabbath or Circumcision: besides, they say it is expressly set down in the Gospel, That our Saviour at the last Supper took Bread, which cannot be taken for unleavened Bread,

for

for the *Jews* eat not of that but at the Pasover, and standing, when on the contrary, Our Lord at the institution of the last Supper, sate down, or rather laid down with the Apostles, *recumbentibus duodecem, &c.* and whence they conclude that he did not then keep the Pasover, but that it was some other repast. They invoke Saints and Angels as those of the *Roman* Church doe, and the blessed Virgin and the Apostles, whose Festivals they solemnize; and the *Russians*, principally that of *S. Nicholas* of *Myrea*, whom they particularly adore.

Their Baptisme, Confession, Marriage, Ordination of their Priests, and their extreme Unction, differ little from the *Latines*, the difference which there is in the *Eucharist* is, that the people communicate in both kinds, and that the Sacrament is administred to Children of three years old, they have their Hostia's apart for the sick, which they consecrate in the Holy week.

Their

Their Fasts are more frequent and more austere then ours, they abstain not onely from Flesh, but from Butter, Milk, Cheese, Eggs, and Fish also, living onely upon Cabbage, parsnips, Mushrooms, and Pulse; there are some also so devout that they content themselves with Bread and Water, excepting Saturdays and Sundays, yet for all this the *Muscovites* are often drunk in their *Lents*, and doe not believe any more then the *Polanders*, that excessive drinking doth any way break their Fasts; they have four Fasts in the year, the first answereth to our *Lent*, and lasts seven weeks; the second beginneth from the *Octave* after *Whitsuntide*, and ends at the *Vigils* of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*; the third from the first of *August* to the *Assumption* of the *blessed Virgin*; and the last is during the *Advent*, which beginneth fifteen days sooner then that of the Church of *Rome*, they observe the same abstinence on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*; there are very few points in which the *Russian* and *Greek* Church differ, they holding the same Communion and
four-

fourſcore years ſince did acknowledge the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, ſince which time the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* hath thought fit to nominate the Arch-biſhop of *Moſco*, upon which nomination he is conſecrated by two or three of his Suffragans. The Biſhops of *Black Ruſſia* or *Southern Ruſſia* did ſince that ſet up a Church apart, and ſeeing the progreſs of the diviſions which *Luther* and *Calvin* had made in their reſpective Countreys, they determined in a Synod which they held for the ſuſtaining of themſelves, to re-eſtabliſh the union of their Church with the *Roman Catholick*, and to this intent, in the year 1595. they deputed two, and ſent them to *Rome*, who in the name of the Churches of *Black Ruſſia*, preſented in writing a confeſſion of Faith conformable to the belief of the Council of *Trent*, after that they had ſtipulated that they ſhould retain the Ceremonies of the *Greek Church* uſed when the union was made with the *Latine* at the Council of *Florence*, but they are ſince fallen off.



A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
PRÆCOPIAN
TARTARS.

There are two great Nations in the world, who live very much after the same manner, are of the same Religion, and pretend to the same original; these are the *Arabs* and the *Tartars*, the first living in part of *Asia* and of *Africa*, and the latter possessing all the Northern Regions of *Asia*, and extending their Territories into *Europe*: some of these are more civilized than the others, have Towns and Literature, and improve their knowledge
in

in Arts and Sciences, but the most part of them live a wandering life up and down in the Fields and Plains, in Tents or Sheds, or else contented to have no other covering but the Heaven, not addicting themselves to Agriculture, but delight in Hunting, Fighting, Robbing, and have little other Riches then their Heards and Flocks.

All these *Tartars* are divided into *Hordes*, and the *Arabs* into *Heyles* or *Cobeyles*, and almost all these people, make no allyance out of their own Lineage and Blood, from whence apparently proceeds, that great resemblance which they have to one another; and some peculiar Features which doe easily distinguish them from other Nations.

Horde
signifies
a Congregation.

The *Tartars* have not been known by this name, but for about four hundred years, and are properly the *Seythians*; some Authors, as *Leunclawe* and others, derive this name from the River *Tartar*, in the Countrey where they did inhabit.

C

There

There are some who say that the name of *Tartar* is improper and corrupted, and that they ought to be called *Tatares* or *Totares*, a word which in the *Syriack* Language signifies a Remnant, supposing that these people are the remnant of the Ten Tribes which *Salmanazar* and his predecessors led away captive into *Assyria*, and who afterwards resolved to separate themselves from the *Gentiles*, and passed into a Countrey not inhabited, there to exercise their Religion, and to observe the laws which they had formerly neglected,

Tartary is divided into five parts, the first is the lesser *Tartary*, or *Tartary* of *Prezecop*, called also *Crim Tartary*. The second is *Sarmatia, Asiatica*, which containeth many *Hordes* of the *Tartars* subject to the Great Duke of *Moscovia*, as the *Czeremisses*, the *Nugais*, *Zanolkans*, and those of *Cazan* and *Astracan*. The Third is *Zagatay*, or the Countrey of *Uzbek*, otherwise called *Scythia* beyond the Mount *Tians*, which extends it self
between

between the Rivers of *Chesel*, otherwise *Jaxarte*, and *Gehon*, or *Oxe*, and comprehendeth *Bactriana*, and *Sogdiana*; and in this *Tartary* Reigned the famous *Tamberlane*. The Fourth is *Cathay* or great *Tartary*. And the Fifth is, That *Tartary* which was unknown to *Ptolomy* and lieth most remote in the North-east part of *Asia*.

The lesser *Tartary* formerly called *Taurica Chersonesus*, hath received the name of *Præcopensis*, from a Town called *Præcop*, scituated in the *Isthmus* of the *Peninsula*. *Præcop* in the *Slavovian* Language, signifying a place ditched or digged; there being a Ditch which cutteth through this neck of Land; it is called also *Crim*, from one of its principal Towns of that name.

The *Tauri* were the antient inhabitants, and gave name to this Countrey, many *Greek* Colonies came thither afterwards, and then some Hordes of the *Tartars* who came out from about the *Caspian Sea*, and after they had harra-

sed a part of *Asia* and passed the *Volga*, did at length fall into this Countrey, and take possession of it all, about 460. years since, except *Cassa* and some other Ports which remained in the hands of the *Genoefes* from the year one thousand two hundred and sixty six, till one thousand four hundred and seventy four, when *Mahomet* the second Emperor of the *Turks* took it from them.

Taurica Chersonesus is about fifty Leagues long, and in some parts thirty Leagues broad, in others less; but the lesser *Tartary* is of a greater extent, comprehending *Budziak*, which is a Countrey lying between the *Niester* and the *Boristhenes*, as far as the *Don* or *Tanais*, and all along the Sea of *Elle Zabacche*, or *Palus Maotis*.

There are no Towns nor yet Villages, but in the *Chersonesus*, the rest being only incultivated Plains, yet of themselves very fruitful, and the *Tartars* encamp up and down in them as they find more or less forrage, and make use of

of their Huts, and their travelling sheds, onely in the winter to defend themselves against the great cold and snow, which we mean also of those onely who are left to keep the Herds and Flocks; as for the rest they are ordinarily employed about this time, when the Rivers and Marshes are frozen up, to make their inroads, and plunder in *Ukrain*, and upon the frontiers of *Moscovy*.

The Towns of this *Peninsula* are first *Przecop*, called *Or* by the *Tartars*, where there are about four hundred Houses; it is situated upon the *Eastern* part of the *Isthmus*, being half a League about; *Coslow*, seated on one of the Capes of the *Peninsula* upon the *Black Sea*, having about two thousand Houses, and is a Town of Trade belonging to the *Cham*: *Crim*, another Town of the *Cham's*, situated upon a Bay which the *Palus Meotis* maketh, and is inhabited by few else but by the *Tartars*. *Baciafary* where the *Cham* ordinarily keepeth his Court of about two thousand Houses. *Al-*

masaray, another Palace belonging to the *Cham*, whither he often goeth, but the Town by it hath not above three or fourscore Houses.

The places possessed by the *Turk*, are the Port of *Baluelawa*, very much esteemed, where the Ships and Gallies are made for him, but there are not there above two hundred Houses at most. *Ingermen*, and *Mancup*, Castles with ruined Towns, but the most considerable place is *Cassa*, formerly called *Theodosia*, when the *Genoeses* were Masters of it; it was one of the most trading Towns of the *Levant*, but it is since fallen from its Grandeur, and hath run the same fortune with most of those Towns, which have fallen under the *Ottoman* Dominion; yet there are still remaining about five or six thousand Houses: the Inhabitants are *Greeks*, *Italians*; the remainder of the *Genoeses*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, *Turks* and *Tartars*, but the most part of them are *Christians*, who have had to the number of five and forty Churches there, either *Greek*, *Armenian*, or *Latine*.

Taurica

Taurica Chersonesus consisteth partly of fruitful Plains, and partly of Woods and Hills, it produceth all sort of Grain and excellent Fruit and Wine. The *Christians* and *Jews* Till the Ground; the *Tartars* imploy their Slaves in the same labor, esteeming it an employment below them, but the *Tartars* without, despise it more, and choose rather to be Shepherds and Robbers; Their Horses and Cattel are their Riches, with the Booty and Slaves of both Sexes, which they take in their incursions and sell to the Merchants of *Cassa*, after they have provided for themselves, and furnished the *Cham*, who hath the priviledge to take first what Men and Women he pleaseth; these Slaves are afterwards carried away by the Merchants of *Constantinople*, *Synopa* and *Trebisonde*, and other places of the East, especially the Women and Maids of *Poland*, who are carried away sometimes as far as *Persia* and *India*, to furnish the *Serraglio's* of those Countreys where they are much esteemed; formerly the *Soldans* of *Ægypt* did furnish

themselves with Soldiers out of *Taurica Chersonesus*, composing their Militia of Slaves taken by the *Tartars* in *Russia*, *Podolia*, *Moscovia*, and *Circassia*. But since the ruine of that Military Empire by *Selim*, that Commerce with *Egypt* hath ceased. The *Tartars* receive from the *Christian* and *Jewish* Merchants in exchange for their Slaves and Cattel which they bring them, *Turkish* Horses, Arms, Stuffs for cloathing and other Commodities.

The *Præcopian Tartars* are most of them of a middle stature, strong, and thick Limbs, short Neck, broad Face, their Eyes small, but very black, and opening wide, their complexion Tawny, and other particular Lineaments they have which doe easily distinguish them from among many other men, hardened to all sort of Labour and Pains from their very infancy. Their Mothers bath them almost every day in water, in which Salt is dissolved, to make their bodies more strong, and less apt to be penetrated by the injuries of
the

the Air, which I have seen also practised by the *Polish* Women, but these are contented to prepare this Lye only once a week, their Fathers teach them very early to draw the bowe, and from the age of twelve or fifteen years they carry them with them to the wars.

The *Tartars* who live abroad, are habited in Sheep-skins with a Cap of the same Stuffle; their Arms are ordinarily a Cimeter, a Bow and a Quiver, with about twenty Arrows; they make themselves these Arms, thus, their Bows out of Horses Pizzels, their Quiver, out of his skin, and eye the heads of their Arrows with little Thongs cut out of the same skin of the same Animal, of which also they make their Whips so neatly, by a particular Art which they have, that our Sadlers in *France* and *Germany*, have not yet been able to imitate them; they begin to use Fire-arms, and all of them are furnish'd with Knives and Instruments to mend their Bridles and Saddles, which they also make themselves; they carry
with

with them a Steel to strike fire, and a Mariners Compass, a Sun-dyal to guide them through the desert Plains where there is no beaten way or path. The chief among them wear Cloth of divers colours, have Linnen made of Cotton, Coats of Mail, Turkish Saddles, and are in an handsome equipage, purchased either of the *Armenian* Merchants, or taken in War; all ride very short, and carry their Legs bended and high, after the manner of the *Poles*, *Turks*, *Arabs*, and of all the *Eastern Nations*, and the *Africans*. Their Horses which they call *Bacmates*, are long, ugly, and lean, have the Hair of their Neck thick, and great Tayls which hang down to the ground; but Nature hath very well repaired their ugliness by their swiftness, and their incomparable and indefatigable service they perform in travelling, being able to carry their Riders whole days journeys without drawing Bit; they feed at all times, and when in winter the Earth is covered with Snow, and the *Tartars* make their incursions, they live
either

either upon what is under the Snow, or upon the Branches or sprouts of Trees, Pine tops, Straw, or any thing they can find; the chief of the *Tartars* have *Turkish* and *Arabian* Horses, and their *Cham* very good Race-horses.

The travelling *Tartars* scarce eat any bread coming seldom into places, where it is to be had, but they make use of *Millet*, which is very common amongst them, with which they make their Drink and Pottage, and eat ordinarily Horse-flesh which they boil when they are at leisure, either alone or with their *Millet*, but when they goe to war and are upon their March, they make it ready, or rather mortify, or just heat it, under their Saddles, and eat it afterwards in this condition without any other sauce then the froth upon the Flesh, made by the sweating of the Horse; neither doe they choose the most fat or the most sound and wholesome Horses to make their Provision of, but they take such as are spent with their long marches, or are sick and lame

lame, and I have seen at my being in *Poland*, divers *Tartar* prisoners come and take away dead Horses out of the Stables to feast one another with, so that there is no fear in those Countreys that the carcasses of dead Beasts should infect the Air, they will take an order for that, and not fail to carry them away, as soon as they know where they are; the use of Wine being forbidden them by the Law of *Mahomet*, their drink is ordinarily clear water, and in winter snow, when the Brooks and Rivers are frozen over, and sometimes the broth made with their Horseflesh, and the *Skumme*, or else *Breha*, which is a drink made with boiled Millet, but those who are better accommodated, and more delicate, drink Mares milk, Mead, and Strong waters, and eat Lamb, Kid, Fowls, and all sort of Game which they take; they delighting much in Hunting and Fowling; but all abstain from Swines-flesh, and one may say this of them in general, that they are sober and continent; as for the *Cham* himself he keeps a
better

better Table, and fares more deliciously, is nobly lodged, and lives magnificently, and as becomes one of his Quality.

Their Language is much like the *Turkish*, both of them having the same original, onely the *Turkish* is more mixed with *Persian* and *Arabick* words; their Religion is the *Mahumetan*.

As to their Morals, there are very few Nations to be found less vitious, for besides their continence, they are extremely sincere, and faithful, they have no Thieves or false witnesses amongst them, little injustice or violence, and live in Union and great tranquility; as to their harassing the Christian Countreys, they do not think they commit any fault or injustice in doing it, seeing that they are esteemed by them as people that are Infidels and abominable.

The marvellous fidelity of the Captive *Tartars* in *Poland* is every day to be ob-

observed, who never fail to return at the time appointed, when they are let loose upon their word to goe and procure their Liberties by the exchange of *Polish* prisoners, which they execute punctually, or return themselves not failing a minute; and I have observed that the *Polish* Gentlemen doe rather trust the young *Tartars*, which are in their service, with the keys of their Money and Jewels, then any other of their Household.

These People obey one Prince whom they call their *Cham* or King; the *Poles* name him the *Czar* or *Cæsar*, he is much respected by his own People and Reigneth despotically, as almost all other *Mahumetan* Princes do; the *Cham* hath power of nominating his successor, who is ordinarily his Son or one of his Brothers, he that is to succeed, is called the *Galga*; the Nobles or most considerable of his Subjects are named *Murzas*. Since that *Selim*, Emperor of the *Turks* brought a part of *Taurica Chersonesus* under his obedience; the *Chams* are

are not become Tributaries, as some say, but Vassals to the Grand Signior, in such sort, as for a mark of his Sovereignty over them, they receive a Standard from him at the change or installation of every *Cham*. The first King or *Cham* of these People was one *Ulan*, whose birth they report to be miraculous; his Successors were supplanted about two hundred years agoe by the *Geereys*, a Family which at this day sits upon the Throne, yet their are some left of the former, still called *Ulans*, and are to succeed in the Government when the House of the *Geereys* shall be extinct.

The Religion of the *Præcopian Tartars* being *Mahumetan*, and their Language the *Turkish*, together with their nearness to *Constantinople*; the Government also is very like to that of the *Turks*; the *Cham's* first Minister of State is called the *Vizier*, the same as the Grand Signior's; they have also Priests and Caditi's to doe justice, for the administration of which they have

no other *Code* but the *Alcoran*, and no other interpreter of that but their own common Sense; the parties plead their own Cases, which are briefly and readily dispatched; the *Cham* himself doth Justice, and determines Controversies, especially when he goeth forth in publick, without acception of persons, hearing the poor as well as the rich. Drunkenness, Murder, Adultery, and Theft are most rigorously punished, and though they be much accustomed to rob in War, yet they totally abstain from it in their own Countrey, where wearing of any Arms is prohibited them, even in the *Cham's* Court.

The forces of this Prince are very numerous, for gathering together all the hords, of the *Tartars*, who doe either obey him or are his Allies, he is able to bring into the field many thousand Horse; they have no Foot but some *Janisaries* which they receive from the *Turk* upon any expedition which they make by his Order or Agreement; there are some few Garri-
sons

sons in the Castles and strong places of *Taurica Chersonesus*, the most considerable is in the Fortrefs of *Przecop*, or *Or*, which hath notwithstanding but a bad Ditch four or five fathoms over, and a Rampart of seven or eight foot high, and two fathoms and half over; here lieth always a strong Guard to defend the entrance of the *Peninsula*, and he that is Governor is Commander of all the Hordes of the *Tartars*, as far as the *Boristhenes*.

The wars which the *Tartars* ordinarily make, is rather an inroad then any thing else.

How strict peace soever they have with the *Christians* their neighbors, they doe not fail to visit them often, either upon their inclination, or upon the Command of the *Cham*, who always pretends to a Tribute from the *Moscovites* and *Polanders*, which they have paid sometimes when necessity hath forced them, and refused at others, as not being willing to subject themselves to these acknowledgements towards

None

D

Infidels

Infidels, and those whom they despise.

When the *Tartars* would make any great inroad either into *Poland* or *Moscow*; they choose ordinarily the full Moon of *January*, all the Rivers, Lakes and Marshes, being then frozen, and the Earth, especially in the plain Deserts covered with Snow, which is very commodious for their Horses which are not shod; every *Tartar* carrieth two with him, either for change, or to carry his booty and provision; neither is his provision very weighty, consisting onely of a little *Millet*, dried Flesh powdered after the manner of the *Turks*, and some Garlick, which they hold very proper to digest so many crude Meats as they eat, and many times they carry nothing, feeding onely upon the flesh of their Horses which perish in their march; they take their way through the Valleys and most obscure passages, that they may not be discovered by the *Cossacks*, who always keep Centry and Watch, and are out upon parties to hear news of them, and so to alarm the Countrey. That which is
most

most surprising is, That in the middle of winter they incamp without fire, for fear of being discovered, and eat little but Horseflesh stewed under their Saddles; when they are arrived at those places where they intended, whether it be in *Ukrain* or elsewhere, their Generals let loose one third part of their Army, which is divided into divers Troops, and these over-run and pillage all the Countrey five or six Leagues about the wings of their Army; their main body in the mean time keeping close together, to be in a posture to fight their Enemies, if their should be occasion; afterwards this party being returned, they let loose another in its turn, observing always this Order, That all their Troops which run up and down, may in a few hours return to the body of their Army: after they have pillaged and harrassed the Countrey five or six days, they return as fast as they can, that they may not be set upon in their retreat, and having regained the open desert Plains, where their Body consisting of Horse,

they have great advantage in fight; they make a halt to refresh themselves a while, and to share the Booty and Prisoners. They make their incurſions alſo in Summer, but not in ſuch great numbers, ſeldom ſo many as ten thouſand together, and theſe are the *Tartars* of *Budziak*, who at that ſeaſon lead their Horſes and Cattel into the Plains to feed, and ſo getting ground, they of a ſuddain run out and take away all they meet; nor is it eaſie to ſtop them but with a thouſand men, marching always in *Tabor*.

The *Tartars* fight not but in great Troops of two, three, or four thouſand Horſe, and ſeldom give battle but when they are much the ſtronger, and when their Army is forced and broken up by the enemy, they ſcatter and diſperſe themſelves into ſo many little Troops, that the *Polanders* and *Germans*, who march cloſe and by ſquadrons, know not which to ſet upon in their retreat; they ſhoot their Arrows from behind them, with ſuch exactneſs as to hit thoſe

those who pursue them at two hundred paces distance, and at a quarter of a League from thence rally their forces again and return presently to charge; this they repeat often, it being their manner of fighting, but it is onely thus, when they are the greatest number, for otherwise when they once run, it is full speed, and not to return again, and it is difficult to surprise them, they keeping strict watch all night, not easie to defeat them, unless it be in some streight, or upon some pass of a River.

The prisoners which they take, they make Slaves and sell them to the Merchants of *Constantinople* and *Cassa*, and other places of the *East*, who either keep them to wait upon themselves, or to look after their Cattle, or till the Ground, entertaining with the same face as we have formerly spoken of, as divers *Polish* and *French* Officers have related unto me; amongst others, Lieutenant-Collonel *Nicolai*, and Captain *Croustade*, who most unfortunately fell into their hands; but the *Poles* are e-

ven with them, for except those Children whom they choose to wait upon them, and Baptize and instruct in the Christian Religion, or some *Murza* which they shut up and treat well enough, and hope to exchange for some *Polish* Nobleman, prisoner in *Tartary*; the rest are kept as Slaves, having always Irons upon their feet, and are made use of as Beasts to carry all manner of burthens, Lime, Brick, and all other materials for building, Wood for their Kitchens and Chambers, and to make clean their Houses, and Plough, and other labors, being always followed by one who keeps them to their work, yet these poor people get some time to make Whips, which they sell and buy provisions with the Money, their ordinary allowance being onely Bread and Water, unless when they get a dead Horse; when I was at *Warsaw*, I had opportunity to take notice of two or three hundred of them, who lived after this manner, either under the King, or some great *Polish* Nobleman.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WAR
OF THE
COSSACKS
AGAINST
POLAND.

Poland hath had often very powerful Enemies to deal with, as the *German Empire*, the *Knights of the Teutonic Order*, since their establishment in *Prussia*, often backed by *German Forces*; the *Tartars* who have made frequent incursions, and sometimes traversed the Countrey from one end to the other. The *Turks* who came

in the year 1621. to *Choczyn* upon the *Niestre* with an Army of four hundred thousand men, and seemed to swallow up the Kingdom, and the rather, because at the same time the King of *Sweden*, *Gustavus Adolphus* entred into *Lief-land* with a considerable force, yet have the *Poles* made head against all these Enemies, though never so redoubtable, and those Wars never appeared so dangerous to them, as that which insued upon the defection of the *Cossacks* in the year 1648. almost at the very moment of the death of their King, for these Rebels did not onely ingage all those of *Black Russia* to rise with them, but at once laying off all that mortal and irreconcilable hatred which they have always had for the *Tartars*, they made a League with them, and did proceed further to implore the assistance of the *Turk* towards the total ruine and destruction of *Poland*.

Having therefore joyned their forces with those of the Infidels, they made in less then four years time, four great irrupti-

irruptions into this Kingdom with Armies of two or three hundred thousand fighting men, who were the more formidable, by reason that their Infantry, hardened to all labor and injuries of the weather, and sufficiently warlike by their frequent incountring the *Tartars* invasions, were now sustained and backed by the *Tartar* Cavalry, which without contradiction would be the best in the world if it were exercised with the same Martial Discipline as that of *Christendom*.

Bogdan Kmielniski was the first spark which kindled this fire, and the hinge upon whom this war moved, he was born a Gentleman, son to the *Podstaroste* of a *Polish* General, being inrolled young in the *Cossackian* Militia; from a private soldier he attained by degrees to the charge of a Captain, and was deputed from this Militia to the Diets of *Poland*, was afterwards made Commissary-General, and in the end General, having besides this some tincture of literature, a thing very rare in

in any of those people ; King *Vladislaus* being weary of languishing in a slothful quietness, while that most part of the other Kings and Princes of Christendom were in action , in the year 1646, designed a war against the *Præcopian Tartars*, whom he pretended to drive out of *Crimea*, and judged *Kmielniski*, worthy to Command the *Cossackian Army*, of which he made very great account, especially in this expedition ; but the Kings designe not being seconded by the *Christian Princes*, who were employed otherwise, nor by the *Venetians* themselves, upon whose assistance he did very much depend, and on the other side the States of *Poland* being jealous of his raising forces, he was obliged to disband and pay off his Troops with a good part of his Queens Dowry. *Kmielniski* was by this means out of service, yet soon found occasion of imploying himself upon a dispute which happened about his Estate, between him and *Czapliniski*, Lieutenant to *Konielpolski*, Great ensigne of the Crown, and was the more exasperated

rated by the ill treatment which his own Wife and Son received, who in the strife happened to be struck with a Cudgel : he was not long before he returned the injury, for discovering that the *Russes* were disposed to set themselves free, and could no longer relish that peace, which instead of procuring them repose, gave a greater opportunity to their Noblemen to keep them in servitude and oppression ; he very well managed their discontents, and assured himself of the *Cossacks*, retiring himself about the beginning of the year 1648. towards the *Porohi*, or Isles of the *Boristhenes*, there to fortify and put himself in defence against any assault of the *Polanders*.

Some thought, and with great probability, that King *Vladislaus*, being willing to take in hand again the designe of his expedition against the *Tartars*, entertained a private correspondence with him, and was the cause under-hand that the *Cossacks* revolted, to the end that the States of *Poland* furnishing

nishing him with an Army to suppress
 them, when they came to meet, they
 might joyn their forces, and the great-
 est part being strangers, and Com-
 manded by those who are intimate
 with them, they would little have re-
 garded the Orders of the States, but
 followed this Prince against the *Tartars*
 and against the *Turks* also, with whom
 they would necessarily have been in-
 gaged, having attacqued the former;
 but howsoever it was, *Kmielniski* seeing
 that the Letters which he sent into *Po-
 land* to complain of the injuries done to
 the *Cossacks*, and to him in particular,
 although full of submission and prote-
 stations of Obedience, were of no effect;
 but on the contrary, the Great General
Potoski was preparing to come against
 him; and distrusting his own strength,
 he called for assistance from the *Tartars*,
 who passed the winter in the desert
 Plains, seeking their opportunity to
 make their ordinary inroads, and plun-
 der in *Ukrain*, conducted by *Tobaibeg*,
 one of their Captains, a brave Com-
 mander, but often mutinous, and re-
 fractory

fractory to the Orders of the *Cham.*

The great distance of places was favourable to *Kmielniski*, and kept the *Polish* Generals some time from the knowledge of his private Treaties, but so soon as they had certain advice thereof, they resolved to march with all diligence towards the *Zaporovian* Islands, and to stifle this revolt in its Cradle, they dispatched therefore on that side, a part of the *Polish* Army designed for the Guard of the frontiers, and particularly the body of *Cossacks* entertained in the service of the States under the conduct of *Schomberg* their Commissary. *Stephen Potoski*, Son to the General *Sapiha Czarnecki*, and some other Officers. Part of the *Cossackian* Militia which was embarked upon the *Boristhenes*, being arrived at the *Torohi*, went immediately over to *Kmielniski*, violating in favour of their Countreymen, their Oath of Allegiance to the *Poland*ers, which they had so lately taken. *Kmielniski* marching with this recruit against the rest of the *Cossacks*,
easily

easily obliged them to follow the example of the former. among these latter, there were some Troops of Dragoons which did excellent service in this war against the *Polish* Nobility, who to save the charges of a *German* Guard, which the Gentlemen of that Countrey used to have about their persons, had Armed and Habited many of those Countrey-men after the fashion of the *German* Dragoons, renewing thus their courage by the change of their condition, and bringing them out of the baseness of slavery. *Kmielniski* fortified with these revolting *Cossacks*, found no great difficulty to overcome the rest of the *Polish* Troops, who were not in all above fifteen hundred men; the *Poles* defended themselves some days in the middle of their *Tabor*, but having lost their Canon, and not being able to resist so great a number which encompassed them on all sides, they were all either slain or made slaves by the *Tartars*; *Sapitza* was one of these, *Schomberg* was mortally wounded, and *Potoski* not being able to be carried away,

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way, died in the field. *Kmielniski* carefully managing this advantage, had the Glory which ordinarily accompanies the first victory, made head against the rest of the *Polish* Army, which consisted of about five thousand men, and whose Commanders having long expected the news of their first Troops ordered towards the *Boristhenes*, and now being certainly informed of their defeat, as that also the *Cossacks* had deserted them, and that the *Tartars* were joyned with the *Rebels*, thought it necessary to retreat, for the preservation of the forces of the Kingdom, but it was now too late, for the *Bacmates* overtaking them, began to skirmish with them, and some *Tartars* being taken prisoners, did confess upon the Rack, that their Army consisted of forty thousand men, besides seven thousand *Cossacks*, and the Countreymen of the adjacent Colonies who came in hourly to them. The *Polish* Council of War deliberating therefore what was to be done, found no expedient better then that of continuing their retreat in the middle

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call the
Tartari-
an Hor-
ses.

dle of their Chariots, neither was this sufficient, for they had scarce marched halfe a League before they entred into a thick Forrest, whose bottom was Marshy and full of Boggs, and to make them still more exquisitely unhappy, the *Cossacks* who remained with them, to the number of eighteen hundred, did then forsake them; so that after four hours striving, as well against the bad ways as their enemies, and their *Tabor* being broken up, and they set upon on all sides, most of them were either killed upon the place, or choaked in the Mudd.

This misfortune which happened about *Korsun*, became more sensible to *Poland* by reason of the death of King *Vladislans* the IV who died at this time at *Mereche* in *Lithuania* in the two and fiftieth year of his age, no man doubting but this Prince by his valour joyned with all those other great perfections which he was endowed with, and which made him venerable and beloved by his own, as well as esteemed and

and feared by his enemies, would by his Authority and great name, have quickly suppressed this new rising, and but yet Infant Rebellion of the *Cossacks*.

The Kings death was not presently known to *Kmielniski*, who, if he had been informed of it, would not have failed to have shown more fierceness then he did after the defeat of the *Polish* Army ; upon which he wrote a very submissive Letter to the King, in which he laid all that was passed upon the insolence of the Governors, and upon the Rapines and insupportable Exactions of the *Jews*, who for Farmers of the Kings Land, and of many Gentlemens Estates, he asked pardon for what he was constrained to doe in his own defence, promised to send back the *Tartars*, and to live in obedience to his Majesty, if he would be pleased to maintain him and his *Cossacks* in their liberty, and priviledges granted them by the former Kings his predecessors, but a while after he understood the King was dead, by a Letter sent him

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from

from *Adam Kisiel* Palatine of *Braclaw* by the hands of a *Greek* Monk : this Palatine who was also a *Greek*, used very milde and obliging expressions to bring back the head of the *Cossacks* to his obedience, setting forth to him the ancient fidelity of the *Zaporowski Cossacks*, who though they were very jealous of their Liberty, were always very constant, and lived in a State where all persons, but chiefly Men of War, had always free access to make good their interests, and to complain of their injuries which they received ; that he, being the onely Senator of the *Greek* Religion, and Protector of their Rites and Churches, which he did always most heartily defend : did conjure him by the Saintity of the same Religion, and the Honour of the *Russian* Nation, that he would send home the *Tartars*, and lead the *Cossacks* back into their ordinary stations, and that in the mean time he would depute some persons to make known the injuries which they and he in particular had received, and to desire some redress, offering his own care

and

and services to help them to all the satisfaction they could pretend to, and withal, he was a person of that rank and quality in the State, that no Determinations or Orders could be given either for peace or war, without his being advertised of it; but he assured them, he should always be inclined to have these disorders terminated in a peaceable way, rather then to have them entertained by the continuation of a Civil war; and that their Arms at present employed in their mutual Ruine, might be more profitably, and gloriously made use of against the enemies of Christendome. The *Tartars* were apt upon the least occasion to take up Arms, but their first heat and choler being past, they returned of themselves, and were reconciled without any Mediation, they should therefore take their leaves of them, and retain nothing but this laudable custom of theirs. The Monk who carried this Letter was in great danger of falling into the hands of the *Tartars*, but escaping with much difficulty, he arrived

at the Camp of *Kmielniski*, which he found confused enough; the General called the soldiery together in a tumultuous way, had the Letter read before them, and was the first himself who approved the Council of the Palatine of *Braclaw*; and being backed by the Plurality of voices, it was determined that all acts of hostility should cease, and that they should wait for an answer from the Court of *Poland*; that the *Tartars* should be sent back into the desert Plains, with Orders thereto keep themselves ready upon all occasions, and that the Palatine should be invited to come to the Camp. This moderation of *Kmielniski*, when his affairs were at that height, surprized all the world, although it were not void of artifice, for as on one side it appeared that he had put a stop to the course of his victories, to hinder any further bloodshed, and to obtain pardon more easily, so on the other, he made this ostentation of his power to the *Polanders*, to extort from them, what he could not perhaps have obtained onely by his submis-

submission. Retiring therefore into the Town of *Bialacerkiew*, he kept himself quiet, while that *Crzivonos*, another Commander of the *Cossacks*, a person of little worth, but bold and horribly cruel, harrassed *Black Russia* and *Podolia*, *Kmielniski* pretended to disallow of these violences, and promised to put this *Crzivonos* and five other Commanders of the Peasants in Rebellion into the hands of the *Polanders*, but this was all to amuse them, that he might at the same time the better seize upon the fortress of *Bar*.

Jeremiah Michael Duke of *Wisnowitz* arriving on the borders of *Russia* with some Troops, to whom were joyned those of *Janus Tiskewitz*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, and the Kings Regiment of Guards, Commanded by *Ossinski*, Lieutenant-General of *Lithuania*, opposed these incursions of *Crzivonos*, and stopped his progress who would otherwise have overrun the Kingdom with those great numbers with him. Many other Troops and the Rear made up of the

Nobility of the Frontiers, making a new Army, they marched against the *Cossacks*, and the rebellious Peasants, after they had endeavoured a second time, but all in vain, to make an accommodation with their Commanders.

The State of *Poland* was made more sensible upon this occasion then ever before of the greatness of that loss which it sustained by the death of their King; there being now no person of Authority enough to Command so many Great men as were at that time in the Army, who would by no means give place to one another and their dissensions and disorders at length grew so high, that the most judicious, considering in what condition affairs were, thought it absolutely necessary to avoid fighting; in pursuance of which Council, it was resolved that they should retreat in good order in the middle of their *Tabur* towards *Constantinow*; but these Orders were so ill understood then, when some Troops about *Pilancze* began

began to move ; others not waiting their times, marched away before the rest, and began a confusion, which being increased by the obscurity of the night, and communicated to all that followed, it struck such a panick fear into the whole Army, that even the most brave were not exempt from it, who could not be so soon informed of the cause of this general flight and consternation : This would have secured an intire victory to *Kmielniski*; if he had not been involved in the same ignorance, but he knew so little of what passed, that he took this flight of the *Polanders* for a stratagem, nor could he beleieve the truth of the report, and instead of pursuing them with all diligence, he contented himself to follow them slowly, and with all circumspection, till at length being undeceived, with a sad heart he turned his forces against *Leopold*, a Town very considerable for its Trade, especially into the *East*, and indifferently strong, but at that time not furnished with Forces or Provisions, fit for its defence. *Arcissenski* an

old Officer who had a long time served abroad, and been a Commander under the *Hollanders* in *Brasil*, was left therein, and put in hopes of being speedily relieved from the *Lesser Poland*. The Inhabitants Commanded by this Officer made a strong resistance for some days, but the Castle forsaken by those who defended it, being taken by the besiegers, and there being little hope left of holding out long against so numerous an Army as lay before the Town, and the want of Provisions being afflicting already, they redeemed themselves and bought off the Enemy from the Walls with a considerable sum.

The *Cossacks* having quitted *Leopold*, came before *Zamoscie*, a Town fortified after the modern way by *John Zamoski*, Great General, and Great Chancellor of *Poland* in the time of King *Sigismund*, Father to the two last Kings.

This place was at that time the only Asylum for the Nobility of *Russia*, who had been driven from their Estates by the revolted Peasants, and there being

being a good party in the Town from the Palatinates of *Belz*, and *Sendomir*, and fifteen hundred men which *Louis Weiher* Palatine of *Pomerania* had brought thither out of *Prussia*; all the attempts which the *Cossacks* and rebellious Peasants made for a months time, were all in vain, so that after they had lost many men, they retreated to the bottom of *Russia*.

We must not pass over in silence the assistance which the *Poles* received from his most Christian Majesty, who although the fire of Civil war began already to be kindled in *France*, permitted that the eight hundred Auxiliaries raised at his expence by Colonel *Christopher Przemski*, who Commanded a *Polish* Regiment in *Flanders*, should be joyned to the *Poles* Army under the same Colonel, who out of this recruit formed one good Regiment. *Kmielniski* being retired with his Forces into their Winter Quarters; some great persons on the behalf of *Poland* begun to treat with him of Peace, but they received
very

very haughty answers, all the advantages of the last Campagne having rendered him more insolent then before, so that it was as much as they could do to prevail with him to consent to a truce for some moneths.

The Præludes of a new war began on both sides before the time was expired ; the Rebels forces provoked the *Polish* in divers places, but bore away the marks of their fool-hardiness having been worsted almost every where by *Andrew Firley*, Governor of *Belz*, and *Stanislaus Landskoroniski*, Governor of *Camienneche*, between whom the new King *John Casimir*, presently after his election, divided the Command of his forces, they received amongst others, very notable shocks at *Zwiehal*, *Ostropol*, *Bar*, and other places, which were retaken, with great destruction of the Rebels, and rich booty to the *Polanders*.

Kmielniski seeing that the Spring approached, which he expected with impatience

patience after that he had called in the
Tartars again, took the field to make
 a new inroad into *Poland* : the *Poles* al-
 so gathered together to cross his de-
 sign, and their Commanders having de-
 liberated in what place they ought to
 stay, till the rest of the Forces of the
 Kingdom were come up to them ; a-
 mongst many advices, of which, one
 amongst others was to lodge under the
 Cannon of *Camienesche*, the importance
 of which Fortrefs being a bar against
 the *Turks* was such, that the preserva-
 tion of it deserved that it should be
 preferred before any other considerati-
 on whatsoever ; the advice of *Firley*
 prevailed , who judging it not fit to
 draw off the Army from the frontiers,
 lest they should be exposed to the ir-
 ruption of the Enemy, made choice of
 the Town of *Zbaras*, belonging to the
 Duke *Wisnowitski*, as a place most con-
 venient for his design, and for the re-
 ception of those recruits, which they
 expected, he had no more then nine
 thousand men with him, taking in those
 Troops which some Noble-men had
 raised

raised at their own expences, he had with him amongst other Commanders, *Landskoronskj*, the Count of *Ostorog*, Great Cup-bearer to the Crown, joynd with him as Colleagues; Duke *Demetrius*, *Jeremiah Michael Wisnowitski*, and *Alexander Koniespolski*, Great Ensigne to the Crown, Son of the defunct Great General of the same name. General *Firley* foreseeing that he should soon be environed with an Army almost innumerable, did presently furnish himself with provisions, and repaired the old Fortifications as well of the Town as of the Castle of *Zbaras*, and secured his Camp by a good intrenchment flanked with Forts and Redoubts, and taking a particular care of a certain Lake which furnished him abundantly with water, that it might by no means be turned away by the enemy. He was no sooner intrenched, but the Army of the *Tartars* and *Cossacks* came and encompassed them in on all sides in such numbers, that there have been seldom seen the like forces together, since those of *Attila* and *Tamberlan*; and that which

was

was never known before, the Cham himself was there in person, thinking to swallow up the Kingdom of *Poland* as a prey, which could not escape him, and which *Kmielniski* did not fail to make him believe infallibly his own; so that he made so little esteem of this handful of *Polish* Soldiers, which were the onely forces which appeared then to defend the Frontiers; that he resolved not to take them by Famine, but to force their Camp, which he thought he might so much the more easily execute by reason that the number of his Army was such, that he had no need to be sparing of his Men.

He made a General Assault upon the 13 of *July*, 1649. which was very furious, and he himself at the Head of his Forces; who not understanding well the danger, and unacquainted with the *Polish* valor, rushed on desperately to this Attack; the cheif assault was made upon the Quarters of General *Finley*, as most of all exposed. Those that assaulted them, were under covert by the

the convenience of a Neighboring Valley : So that some of them, who had already forced the intrenchment, were beaten off with great difficulty. *Firley* and Prince *Wisnowitski* defended themselves valiantly ; the latter seeing his Men begin to give way, prohibited them by his command shooting any longer against the *Tartars*, whom he gave out to have promised Peace and Friendship to their Generals ; and by this Artifice, encouraged and persuaded his Soldiers so far, that they supposing now they had onely the *Cossacks* to deal withal, had new vigor infused into them, and after having slain a great number, repulsed the rest astonished at their desperate bravery, having now sustained that same day seventeen assaults.

The *Cossacks* renewed them again the following days, but still with less success, although they joyned stratagems to force, for to make the *Polanders* think that they had received new Forces from the *Turks*, they habited divers
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of their own after the *Turkish* manner, who conducted a Party of Horse the same way habited, but were really only *Turkish* Vests stuffed with Straw, and set on Horsback. But the manner of this deceit was easily discovered to the *Polanders* by their Perspective Glasses.

Kmielniski sent in Letters often, in some of which he exhorted *Firley* to an accommodation; in others, he solicited the *German* Troops to desert them; but finding that he prevailed nothing, either by force or art, he thought upon attacking the *Polish* Camp by approaches, and imployed the revolted Peasants who were in great number in his Army, to work in them day and night; so that in few days he advanced them to the very foot of their Intrenchment.

This new attempt of the *Cossacks*, troubled the *Poles* more then the former, and seeing that they were now shut up closer, and that it would be difficult

difficult for them to maintain their first intrenchment, they made others nearer to the Town: Into which, they retired themselves as soon as they were perfected, and divers, even of the Officers themselves, were of opinion, that they should quit all that was without, and shut themselves up into the place; but this advice appearing very dangerous, was not followed. But besides the extremity they were reduced to, in having scarce any space left them, to stir in, their Provision began to be scarce, and their Provender for their Horses; So that they dying every day in heaps, caused an unsupportable stink in the Camp. A morsel of Bread was sold for Ten Poltoracks, and a Tun of Beer for Fifty Florins. The Soldiers lived upon no other Provision, then the Flesh of Dogs and Horses. *Kmielniski* knowing in what condition the besieged were, became more insolent, and would grant them no terms but what were very hard. The Cham shewed himself more courteous, yet having demanded that *Wisno-*

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witski and *Koniespolski* should come and confer with him. And the *Polanders* refusing that these great persons should put themselves into his hands, he was very much offended. The *Polish* Generals might well send Messengers to the King of *Poland*, to let him know in what extremity they were, and to desire a speedy relief; for most of them fell into the hands of the *Cossacks* or *Tartars*; and if any one escaped in their going out, yet they received no answer, they being either killed or taken prisoners in their return. However the Generals pretended, that from time to time they received news from His Majesty of *Poland*; and that he would speedily come to relieve them; and that it might be the more firmly believed, they affixed the Kings Seal to the Letters which they feigned, having taken it off from other Letters which they had formerly received. Thus they encouraged the besieged Army, and induced them to have Patience, both by the artifice and sweetness of their Discourse.

Some, even of the Principal Officers, who had provisions sufficient for themselves, left their good Meals which they might have made, and betook themselves to eat stinking Horse-flesh and Dogs-flesh, to make these unfavorable Dishes be better relished by their Soldiers. *Firley*, although he were infirm, by reason of his years and maladies, would have made use of the same fare, had he not been often hindred by those who were about him. *Wisnowitski* and *Koniespolski* neglected not in the mean time, frequently to sally out upon the besiegers, to put them out of hopes of any speedy victory over people, who still preserved so much vigor and resolution, in the middle of those miseries, which they suffered; but besides, the scarcity of Victuals, their want of Ammunition hindred them from shooting so frequently as before. And the *Cossacks* were no ways negligent on their part; for besides their continual shooting against the *Polish* Camp, and their frequent assaults, they made approach-

es against the Town ; and attempted to cut off the Water from the besieged. But these designs not succeeding, they contrived to set the Town of *Zbaras* on fire, and chiefly one of its Gates, which did very much incommode them, it being higher then the rest, and the best marks-men of the *Poles* shot from thence without ceasing ; amongst whom Captain *Butler* did marvellous execution, and Father *Muchaveski*, a Jesuite, no less ; who from the Gate of the Castle killed no less then two hundred *Cossacks* for his part.

A great company of the Rebels came up to the Gate with Firebrands in their Hands, ready to set it on fire : Having obtained which, it was very probable they would gain the rest ; but the besieged being advertised of their design, prepared themselves to render it ineffectual, received them briskly, and made a great slaughter. Things were in this posture, when an Arrow shot into the Town, brought with it most fortunately a Letter tied to it ; by

which he who wrote it, although his name were never known, gave them to understand he was a Gentleman ; and first excused himself, for serving under the *Cossacks* ; to which he was induced by the outrages which he had received from a certain great person ; and by the turn of the Fortune of the *Poles* the year before, but yet that he had not for all that, lost his love and zeal for his Countrey, as he had testified to them in three other Letters, which he had sent to them in the same manner ; and did now give them notice, that the King was certainly coming to their relief, and already arrived at *Zborow*, that the *Cossacks* being informed of his coming, would not fail to redouble their assaults against them ; but for the same reason they ought to redouble their courage, and prepare themselves to repulse them with their utmost vigor.

The most part of the besieged could not put any confidence in this Letter, supposing it to be a new invention of
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the Generals : But soon after it was found to be true, and that the King was advanced as far as *Zbarom* to deliver his besieged Forces, having surmounted all those obstacles which might retard his preparations, and his march. True it is, that his Army was thought by the most intelligent, not onely insufficient to confront that terrible number of enemies which he went against, but even to sustain the least Onset from them, it consisting in all, but of Fifteen thousand Soldiers in pay, and Five thousand others raised by the Nobility at their own charge, the rest not being able to come so soon, having been too slow in their Levies ; notwithstanding the continual instances of the King, and his earnest diligence in this affair.

Kmielniski and the Cham understanding of the march of the King of *Poland*, divided their Forces, and leaving Forty thousand *Tartars*, with a great number of the *Cossacks*, and revolted Peasants before *Zbaras* ; with the rest of

their forces marched towards *Zborow*, and were not discovered by the Kings forces, either by reason that the King had sent none out to inform himself, or that the Countrymen thereabouts, more inclined to favor the *Cossacks*, as being of the same Religion with them, had not faithfully reported what they knew of it ; insomuch, that the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* arrived at the Kings Camp without being any ways discovered , being assisted therein by the Woods, the thick Mists, and the negligence of their enemy. Nay , *Kmielniski* himself found means to enter into the Town of *Zborow*, and there to consider at his leisure the posture of the *Polish* Army. And no sooner were the *Poles* gotten over the Causeys and Bridges , which are in the Marshes about the Town , and began to put themselves in order, but they found that they were on a sudden charged by the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*.

The fight began about the Baggage, the *Tartars* came soon after and fell upon

upon the back of the Kings Forces, having crossed a Water ; where the Peasants by a remarkable Treachery, had broken down a Causey which kept it up, and so rendred it fordable to the Infidels. The Nobility of *Premislie*, and the Cavalry of the Duke of *Ostrog* sustained the first Onset ; but being not able to resist the great numbers of their enemies, many of that Nobility were lost, and all their Baggage.

Stanislaus Wituski and *Leon Sapicha* Vice-Chancellor of *Lithuania*, coming to their relief, repulsed the *Tartars* for a time ; but these returning with more impetuosity against the Troops of the Vice-Chancellor, they must now have been suppressed after a contest of six hours, if that the Governor of *Sendo-mire*, and *Baldovin Ossolinski Starroste* of *Stabnitz*, had not given the Infidels a diversion. In which, *Ossolinski* and divers Gentlemen of the *Palatinate* of *Russia* were slain ; while this passed in the Rear and Flanks of the *Polish* Army, *Kmielniski* with his *Cossacks*,

and a Party of *Tartars* attacked the Front. The King who at the first noise, of their arrival, had put his Forces into *Batalia*, gave the Leading of the Right Wing to the Great Chancellor *Ossolinski*. This Wing was composed of the Cavalry of the King; and of that of the *Palatines* of *Podolia*, *Beltz*, and *Enhoff* *Scarroste* of *Sokal*, and other Regiments: And ordered the Left Wing to be commanded by *George Lubomirski*, *Starroste* of *Cracovia*, and the Duke *Coreski*; where besides the Regiments of Horse were divers Companies of *Voluntiers*.

The Main Battel made up of the Infantry, and where the King himself was in Person, was commanded by Major General *Hubald* of *Misnia*, who had served a long time in the *German Wars*, and had afterwards commanded the *Militia* of *Dantzick*; and by one *Wolff* a Gentleman of *Liefland*, Governor of *Cracovia*; both which had their *German* Regiments with them.

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The *Tartars* extending themselves wide before the Vant-guard, as if they came onely to observe them, after they had closed of a suddain after their manner of fighting, threw themselves upon the right wing, where they were received bravely, and finding that the Foot were defended with their Pikes, and not in a condition to be broken up, they passed to the left wing, which they were able to shake more then the other, *Coreski* who was at the head of them, had his Horse shot from under him. *Ruzouski* was wounded with an Arrow through the Cheeks, yet did not neglect with the Arrow sticking still in the wound, to goe and advertise the King of the danger wherein the left wing was, his Majesty of *Poland* not regarding the Dignity of his person, ran in all haste to encourage his soldiers by his presence, bringing them on again which were flying away, and complaining that he had no more Officers to Command them; yet notwithstanding he himself would take their place,

place, and he had been insensibly engaged in the hottest of the battel, if those about him had not detained him. The presence of the King who exposed himself in this manner for their safety, did reanimate his soldiers as much as the dreadful number of their enemies had discouraged and astonished them, and afterwards they fought with more heat, nor would be forced to give ground.

Some *Tartars* having broken in on one side were repulsed again by the discharge of their Cannon, and by two Companies of Foot Commanded by *Ghiza*, Captain in the Kings Guards, and in the end the Enemy not being able to get any advantage over them answerable to those great endeavors against the *Polish* Army, the night coming on, terminated that days engagement, in which in all likelihood they were to have been cut in pieces ; most of the night was spent in consulting and giving Order how to receive the Enemy the next day, they made some intrenchments in haste to defend them-

themselves by, and in others they placed their Baggage, but while the King was consulting with the principal Commanders and Nobility, a report was spread through the Camp, that his Majesty had a design to retreat that night with most part of his.

The extream danger into which affairs were brought, rendered the report of this Retreat more probable, and it wanted little, but the same consternation had happened there as before at *Pilaucze*. The King who was just retired to repose himself a little being informed of it, got presently on horseback, and riding up and down through the Camp, undeceived them, and by his presence shewed how vain the impression was, they had received of his retreat, of which he did declare he never so much as thought of, but was resolved to stand it out against the Enemy, putting them in hopes of a favourable success in the next days undertaking. Amongst the proposals at the Council of War upon the present

sent conjuncture of affairs, that of attempting to disingage *Kmielniski* from the Cham, was most approved of, and therefore a *Tartar* prisoner was sent with a Letter from his Majesty, in which he gave him to understand, that he could not beleieve that he had lost all sense and memory of those favours which he had received from King *Vladislaus*, from whom when he was formerly taken prisoner in *Poland*, he had received so favourable an entertainment and his liberty, and to whose bounty he was beholden for his present Dignity, and that after this it was strange he should associate himself with Rebels and Slaves, but that he ought not to promise himself any great advantages from so unjust a confederation. Since God would give no blessing on such designs; in the mean time his Majesty thought it convenient to put him in mind of the obligation which he had to the King his predecessor, and withal to offer him his own friendship, if so be that he esteemed that more then an Alliance with Rebels; the answer

swer of this Letter was not so suddenly received, and the next day morning, so soon as it was day, the Army of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* appeared in Batalia, the first, against the City of *Zborow*, and the latter fell upon the Baggage.

Four hundred light Horse were able for some time to amuse the *Cossacks* with divers skirmishes, and afterwards being sustained by a greater number, they drove them off beyond the Town, and those who did attend the baggage having taken Arms, preserved it against the *Tartars*.

The enemies afterwards divided themselves into three bodies, and at as many places attacked the Kings Camp, after having first of all seized upon a Church which did Command it, where having planted a Battery by their continual shooting from which they had forced many who defended it to retire; they had almost made themselves Masters of it, and one of
their

their most resolute soldiers had already planted Colours upon the Works when that a great body of the Kings party running together, made so brave a resistance, that the enemy did not only give over the assault but the fight, the servants sallied out to pursue them, and shewed such courage upon this occasion, that some proposed they should have Horses given them, and be ordered into Troops to increase the number of their forces, and being reinforced with this supply drawn from the Army it self, they might then hazard a Battel, others were of the opinion, that it could not be expedient to venture so far, seeing that after a defeat they would necessarily be reduced to the same extremity as those at *Zbaras*, out of this diversity and incertainty of Council, wherein the *Poles* then floated, knowing not which way to steer, it pleased providence to conduct them happily to their Port. The *Cham* who before all these assaults upon both the *Polish* Armies, had promised himself a speedy and certain victory, and

now

now finding to the contrary, so much fearless resolution amongst them, began to be weary of this war, and to shew himself more inclined towards an accommodation, wrote a civil answer to the Kings Letter, in which he acknowledged himself obliged to the Crown of *Poland* ; and that if his Majesty after his Election had applied himself to him, he would have set a greater value on his friendship, and embraced it sooner than the interest of the *Cossacks*, but they had neglected it so much, that they scarce considered him as an ordinary man, although they might well perceive how advantageous his friendship might be, and now seeing there was an occasion of renewing their antient Alliance, he would not be backward on his side, but promised to oblige the *Cossacks* to lay down their Arms and to return to their obedience, provided that the Articles of the former Treaties were observed ; and that if his Majesty desired to name a place to confer in, and send his Chancellor thither, he would send his Vizer,

zier. This Letter was also accompanied with one from *Kmielniski*, full of respect, and in which he assured the King of his fidelity and future services.

The Conference being accepted of by his Majesty of *Poland*, and the place appointed between both the Armies, The Vizier and the Great Chancellor *Ossolinski*, met according to appointment. The Vizier demanded that they should pay the pension which they were accustomed to give the Cham for the services which he was bound to render to *Poland*, which King *Vladislaws* had refused to pay; that they should satisfy the *Zaporonski Cossacks*, and for the damages and expenses which the *Tartars* had been at in this expedition, and the blood they had lost, it should be permitted them to make their excursions and plunder the Countrey in their return; in the mean time there was a suspension of Arms granted though interrupted by some hostilities; the next day which was the seventeenth of *August*

gust the Plenipotentiaries returned to the same place of Conference, each accompanied with two others. The Chancellor of *Poland* took with him the Palatine of *Kiovia*, and the Vice-Chancellor of *Lithuania*. The Visier brought *sieferkaz* and *Sulimaz Aga*, to whom *Kmielniski* was joyned, to desire a Bill of Oblivion for himself. His *Cossacks*, and the revolted Peasants, and that they should provide for the maintenance of their Liberty, and the Greek Religion; and after divers contests, the Peace was concluded the same day with the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, upon these Conditions.

I. **T**hat there should be Peace and Brotherly friendship for the future between John Casimir, King of Poland; as also the Kings His Successors, and Ilan Giercy, Cham of Tartary, and the whole Family of the Giercys.

II. That the King should freely pay the ordinary Pension of the Tartars, sending it to Camienesche, by Deputies appointed thereto.

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III. That

III. That in consideration of this, the Cham should be bound to assist the King with all his Forces against any Enemy, as often as it should be required.

IV. That the Cham should secure the Frontiers of Poland, from the Incursions and Robberies of his Subjects.

V. That the rest of his Forces before Zbaras should immediately dislodge, and let the Polish Army, which was there, march with all liberty to any place where it should please His Majesty of Poland to command them.

VI. That the Cham should without any delay, leave the Countreys and Dominions belonging to the King; and all his Forces the same, and those Turks which he had with him.

VII. That the King, in consideration of the Cham, would grant a General Pardon to Kmielniski and his Army, and re-establish the Cossackian Militia in its ancient Form, Number, and Liberty.

VIII. Besides these Conditions, Three hundred thousand Florins were promised to the Cham, of which, he received an Hundred thousand in ready Money.

The

The Articles agreed on with *Kmielniski* imported thus much, that

I. **F**irst, the King should grant a General Bill of Oblivion to all the Cossacks, and Rebellious Peasants; and that what was passed should be no more looked after, then as if it had not been done.

II. That *Kmielniski* should fall down and ask Pardon of His Majesty upon his knees.

III. That he should be continued General of the Cossacks; of which, the number should be increased to Forty thousand; and and in which quality, he should depend on none but the King, after he had made his acknowledgment as a Polish Gentleman in regard of the States.

IV. That His Majesty should have a List of the Names and Habitations of the said Forty thousand Cossacks, and that upon the death of *Kmielniski* they should be commanded by one of their own Officers of the Greek Religion.

V. That the Army besieged at *Zbaras* should be set at liberty.

VI. That the exercise of the Greek Religion should be permitted throughout the Kingdom, even in Cracovia it self; and that its Union with the Roman Church should cease.

VII. That the Palatinate of Kiovia should be always given to a Greek.

VIII. That the Metropolitan of the Greeks should have his Seat in the Senate among the Bishops, and should have the ninth place.

IX. That the Cossacks should be permitted to make Strong-waters for their own use, but not for sale.

X. That they should be furnished with Cloth to cloath them; and Ten Florins a Man to arm them.

XI. That the Nobility coming again into the possession of their Estates, should not enquire after, or trouble their Subjects for the damages which they might have received during the War.

XII. That those Noblemen, whether Catholicks or Greeks, who had taken part with the General of the Cossacks should not be at all molested, but discharged from all what had passed in the last Wars.

In execution of which Articles, the General coming before the King fell upon his knees, and with tears in his eyes, made a long discourse, expressing himself how he had much rather appeared in his presence, to receive his approbation for some considerable service done to his Majesty, and the State, then thus stained with so much Blood. But since that the destinies had disposed it otherwise, he came to implore his clemency; and in all humility, the forgiveness of his faults, promising to repair them by his future conduct. The King answered him by the Vice-chancellor of *Lithuania*, That the Repentance of his Subjects was more acceptable to him, than their punishment; and that he did heartily forgive what was passed, if he would efface the crime which he had committed by his future Zeal and Fidelity to his Country.

After this action, *Kmielniski* and the Cham caused their Forces to retire,

and the King extreamly happy in escaping so great a danger, at so easie a rate, went with the *Polish* Army to *Gliniani*, and afterwards to *Leopold*.

Those Forces intrenched at *Zbaras*, reduced to those extremities which you have already heard of, maintained themselves all along, rather by rage and despair, then any hope of help.

The Inhabitants of that Town, not being able to suffer the utmost extremity of Famine, were ready either to burn the Town, or deliver it up to the enemy; but the vigilance of the *Poles* having hindred the execution of this tragick design, they much solicited to be let out, which was onely granted to their Wives and Children; neither were they able to keep their retreat undiscovered, but fell first into the hands of the *Polish* Soldiers, who abused them as they pleased, and afterwards of the *Tartars*, who led this unfortunate Troop into captivity together with some Servants of the Army who had followed them.

The

The One and twentieth of *August*, the *Cossacks* sent the first news to the besieged of the Peace concluded at *Zborow*, which was believed by some, but called in question by most; who feared they might not be comprehended in that Treaty; they were confirmed in this opinion by a Trumpet, who had the boldness to proclaim the same upon his own accord; and it had cost him his life, if one of the Generals had not interceded for him: Afterwards there came a Letter from *Kmielniski*, in which, he assured the besieged of their Deliverance upon the payment of a certain sum to the *Tartars*; but the Generals would not accept of this condition, and openly declared, that since *Kmielniski* was obliged to draw off his Forces, he ought to do it; and for the *Tartars*, if they would remain where they were, they might do so if they pleased. In the end, a more faithful and joyful Message was brought them, with a Letter by Colonel *Minor* from the King, to assure them of their Liberties

without any conditions, together with the disposal of the Palatinate of *Sensdomire* ; vacant by the Death of the Duke of *Zaslav*, with which his Majesty would gratifie the services of General *Firley*. The Prince *Wisnowitskie* was presented with the *Starrofty* of *Premisli*, the Duke of *Ostrog* with that of *Nesfowitz*, *Landskoronski* with that of *Stobnitz*, and the Palatinate of *Braclaw*.

All these recompenses, although very considerable, yet were they inferior to that valor and heroical Constancy ; of which, all these great persons had given such fair proofs, during those two Moneths which they were besieged, and continually assaulted in *Zbaras*.

Neither was Providence less favorable to the *Polanders* in *Lithuania*, then in *Russia* ; where two of their Armies were, as it were, led by the hand out of a danger ; wherein according to all humane appearance, they must have perished.

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The Rebellion of the *Cossacks* and Peasants spread it self in the beginning of the War, with so much more ease into *Lithuania*, by reason that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, are more conformable in their Manners and Religion with the *Russes*.

The *Cossacks*, entring at two places, had made their inrodes into *Polesia*, a Countrey full of Woods and Bogs, and which makes a part of the Palatinates of *Kiowia* and *Volhinia*, and by treachery had seized upon the Inhabitants of *Starodub* and *Homel*, people who had favored their irruption. Colonel *Patz* and *Volowitz*, and afterward Prince *Janus Radzevil*, General of *Samogitia*, and Field-Marshal of *Lithuania*, opposed their designs as well as they could, with the Nobility of *Orsa*; the Garrison of *Bichova*, and some other Forces gathered together; but the assistance of the State came very slowly, and Prince *Radzevil* being sent for to the Diet. The Rebels made use of this occasion
of

of his absence, and set upon *Sluczk*, a Town belonging to Prince *Bogislaw Radzevil*, Great Master of the Horse of *Lithuania*. *Sosnowski*, who was Governor of it, defended it bravely against them; and *Horsch*, Governor of *Orsa*, defeated Fifteen hundred Men at *Czeresko*, and *Mirski*, Major General of the *Lithuanian* Army, retook from them *Prinsko*, a populous Town, and the Seat of a *Greek* Bishop, which they had made themselves Masters of, by the treachery of the Inhabitants. *Hladki*, one of the Principal Commanders of the *Cossacks*, who was within to defend it, was slain; and because this place was one of their principal retreats, it was sacked and burnt to ashes to serve for an example.

Prince *Radzevil* returning from the Election of the King of *Poland*, although the season of the year was very unfit for War; after that he had reduced onely by the fame of his approach, the Towns of *Turow* and *Grodek*, went and laid down before *Mozyr*, which being

being defended for some days very obstinately, was taken by storm by *Gan-skowski*, Lieutenant Colonel in *Radze-wil's* Regiment, and *Michnenko*, one of the chief of the Rebels, being taken therein, the Prince commanded he should be beheaded by the Common Hangman, and his Head set upon the top of the Castle.

From thence he marched with his Forces towards the River *Berezina*, where he attacked *Bobroisko*; the Inhabitants were received into grace, upon condition, That they would deliver up their Arms; and those among them, who had been the Authors of this Insurrection, or who had made a League with the *Cossacks*; which coming to the knowledge of those who were to be delivered up, they retreated into a Tower, and set it on fire, preferring this voluntary death, before that with which the Conqueror threatned them. *Prodnibitz* who commanded them, received with the rest the punishment of his Rebellion.

The

The Winter and the Truce put a stop to the War in *Lithuania*, as well as in *Poland* for some Moneths ; but in the Spring, *Kmielniski* entring into the Kingdom again, sent into this Province *Helia Holota* to renew the War with Ten thousand Men, to whom many Rebellious Peasants were to joyn themselves. This General thought to surprise part of the *Lithuanian* Army in their Winter-quarters at *Zahal*, upon the River of *Pripecz* ; but *Radzevil's* Forces gathering together in haste put them to flight, and drove them into a Marsh, where he and his Army perished. *Stephen Podobaylo* was substituted in his place by *Kmielniski*, who gave him order to intrench himself between the *Boristhenes*, and the River of *Zula*, which he did, and set fire on *Loiowogrod*, least it should serve for a place of retreat to the *Lithuanians* : Yet *Gozienski* setting forward with some Troops to oppose his designs, having sent some Foot down the *Boristhenes*, seised on a place capable of incommodating him very

very much. After this *Kmielniski* sent again into *Lithuania* Thirty thousand Men, under the Command of *Grziewski*, a *Polish* Gentleman.

This Commander had procured *Kmielniski* liberty, when he had been taken by the *Poles*, and had received the same favor from him again ; the last year, after the defeat of the *Polish* Army at *Carfun*, and the favorable entertainment he received, together with the fortunate posture of *Kmielniski*'s affairs, engaged him in his service. Being therefore entred into *Lithuania*, after he had passed the *Pripecz*, he made as if he would besiege *Rzeczicza*, a Town very advantagiously seated ; but marched directly against Prince *Radzevil*'s Army, imaging upon the advice that was given him, That this Prince had sent out some Regiments, he might easily force the rest, and came very near before they had news of his march. But *Chodorkowitz* went out with some Horse, at the first noise of them, and being backed with Four hundred Foot,

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commanded by *Podlek* and *Juskiewitz*, he opposed himself against the first Onset of the *Cossacks*; and receiving divers charges from them, the rest of the Troops had leisure to put themselves in *Bataglia*: And at length *Gonzienski* and *Niewarowitz*, with the *Hussars* forced the Left-wing of the Enemy into a Wood, where at first they made a great firing, and overthrew divers who advanced too far; but at last, being constrained to retreat farther in, they were not in condition to fight any longer.

In the mean time, some Squadrons, which the heat of the engagement had drawn out too far, were encompassed in by the *Cossacks*, and ready to be cut in pieces, if that *Komorowski*, whom Prince *Radzevil* had sent before with a thousand Men to discover and take prisoners, had not happily come in and disengaged them. He that commanded the Right-wing of the *Cossacks*, seeing this Recruit, and apprehending that it might be followed by a greater, and that

that some Ambush was preparing for him retreated also into the Wood, and wherein he thought himself not secure enough, till he had intrenched himself. While these things were doing, the *Cossackian* General *Podobailo*, who was coming to the relief of *Crziewenski* with Twelve thousand Men, passed the *Boristhenes* in Boats: And it is certain, if he had arrived a little sooner, and before the other Troops had been broken, the *Lithuanian* Army had been in extrem danger; but the Forces of *Podobailo* were scarce half passed over, and had begun to intrench themselves, when Prince *Radzevil* marched directly towards them, and after a fierce charge, put them to the rout, and drove them into the River.' So that besides Three or four hundred which saved themselves by swimming, Four thousand five hundred of them were either killed or drowned. Colonel *Tisenhausen*, *Nold*, and *Fechtman*, with their *Germans*, fell upon the rest of *Podobailo's* Forces, who with their *Tabor* went to joyn themselves to *Crziewenski*.

This

This General coming out of the Wood, wherein he had retreated to receive them, was presently wedged in again by the *Hussars*, and forced to intrench in haste with Arms of Trees broken off, or any thing that came to hand; even with dead bodies. And having understood that night by his Spies, that Prince *Radzevil* prepared for a new attack the next morning, he retreated in all haste; leaving the heaviest of his Baggage behind him, and he himself being wounded in many places, was left by the way, and fell into the hands of the *Lithuanians*, and died some time after in their Camp. Notwithstanding this shock, the War was kindled still more fiercely, and many thousand *Cossacks* had passed the *Pripecz* at *Babica*, to make a new irruption into *Lithuania*, and to reinforce their party when the peace at *Zborow* was concluded. In execution of which Treaty, the *Cossacks* were called back out of this Country as well as out of *Poland*.



THE
SECOND WAR
OF THE
COSSACKS
AGAINST
P O L A N D.

THe King of *Poland* returning to *Warsaw*, in the midst of the Acclamations of his People, who could not sufficiently express their joy and acknowledgments to him, for what he had done for the preservation of the Kingdom ; applied himself with all diligence in the Diet, which he held towards the end of the year , to the establishment of the Peace lately concluded with the *Tartars* and *Cossacks*.

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The result of this Diet, which ended the Twelfth of *January*, One thousand six hundred and fifty, was, That all the *Polish* Soldiers should be immediately satisfied: That the Army which had been shut up at *Zbaras*, in consideration of their great services, should receive three payments extraordinary, there should be Twelve thousand Men in continual pay for the Guard of the Frontiers: That the Articles concluded on, between the King, and the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* at *Zborow*, should be confirmed: That three of the *Cossackian* Gentlemen should be admitted to Public Offices: And that for the supply of these great expences, there should be a new Impost laid upon all *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and Customs upon Merchandises granted to his Majesty, for his Signal Exploits in the last Campagna.

It was also thought fit to establish a Senator at *Kiowia*, to be vigilant, near at hand, over the Actions of the *Cossacks*, and to decide the differences which might arise in performance of the Treaty.

ty. *Adam Kisiel*, appointed a while after, to be Governor of that Town, was thought to be a person most able to acquit himself worthily in that charge, and to register the Forty thousand Men, of which the *Cossackian* Army was to consist, according to the last Treaty, and to give them their necessary instructions.

Kmielniski observed this Peace almost a year, and testified in all appearance his good intentions; but apprehending least the *Polanders* whom he had forced, in the unhappy conjuncture of their affairs, to grant him extraordinary conditions, should now repent of it, and search out ways to elude the performance of them; he thought that he could not do better then by powerful Alliances, to secure to himself these advantages which had been conceded.

And to this intent, he applied himself to the Grand Signior, and the Great Duke of *Muscovy*; but especially to the first, by whose favor he hoped

to render himself considerable to all the World. He pretended also to desire the Friendship of the *Hospodar* or Prince of *Moldavia*; but it was onely to amuse him, that he might the better surprise him, and force his Countrey: For in the mean time he made an ill impressi^on of him upon the mindes of the Grand Signiors Officers, to whom he represented him as a secret enemy to the *Turks*, and an intimate Friend of the *Polanders*; and that by his means, the *Poles* had hitherto received continual intelligence of theirs, and the *Tartars* designs. They assured therefore *Kmielniski* of the Protection of the Grand Signior, and that he should be invested with *Black Russia*, to hold it in Fee of the *Ottoman* Empire; they received the acknowledgments of his dependance on them, and his promises of fidelity in their service, and permitted him to execute his designs against the Prince of *Moldavia*, which he did with great dissimulation, and made use of the *Tartars* in it; to whom he joyned onely Four thousand *Cossacks*, and the better

better to keep secret his intentions. The Cham sent to him to thank him for his assistance against the *Circassians*, and desired further, that he would lend him his Forces to go against *Moscovy*, to revenge the injuries which he had received from the Great Duke : So that while the Neighboring Princes persuaded themselves, that the *Tartars* were going to War in *Moscovia*, the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, who was one of this number, and lived in the ordinary careless security of a high Peace, found himself encompassed in with a numerous Army of *Tartars*, and the Four thousand Auxiliary *Cossacks*. All that could be done upon so sudden and unexpected an accident, was to run into the Woods near *Jasz*, his principal City. In the thickest of which, the *Hospodar*, with his family, and as many as he could get together in haste, intrenched themselves with Trees cut down; and afterwards drew himself out of this danger, upon the payment of Twenty thousand Ducats to the *Tartars*, and the promise of his Daughter in marriage to *Timothews*

Kmielniski his Son : Upon which condition *Kmielniski* did recede from many hard terms which he had put upon the *Hospodar*.

In the mean time, the Peace with the *Poles* was every day violated by the *Cossacks* ; their numerous Army was extended much beyond their quarters. The Peasants who were not inrolled, sustained by them, would not receive those Gentlemen, their Landlords, who were to enter upon possession of their Estates again, but treated them ill, and massacred divers. This deportment of theirs, and the expedition against *Moldavia*, obliged *Potoski*, the Generalissimo, who was newly returned out of his prison in *Tartary*, to march with the *Polish* Army, and incamp near *Camienefche*.

Kmielniski was much surprised at the first news of this march ; and there being with him at that time divers who were deputed from the Nobility, to complain of the Rebellion, in the
which

which the Peasants persisted, and their refusal to acknowledge them; he commanded, that all those who were sent to him, should be drowned the night following. But these Orders being given when he was in drink, filled with Wine and Strong-waters, after he had digested his debauch, and been informed by his Wife of what he had done, he presently revoked his sentence just when they who had the charge of it, were ready to execute it. Afterwards he sent *Craucenski*, one of his Officers, to the General *Potoski*, to give him to understand, That he could not but be astonished at the approach of the *Polish* Forces, in such a time, when they had Peace with all the World, and a powerful Army of *Cossacks* at their disposal for the security of the Frontiers.

The General in answer reproached him for their daily breach of Peace, and the ill Treatment which the Nobility received from their Subjects; and for the War which *Kmielniski* had undertaken without their knowledge

against the Prince of *Moldavia* ; and that although he were Great General to the States of *Poland*, yet he ought to have advertised them of it ; he added, that he could not leave that station wherein he was by the Kings Order, without exprefs command from his Majesty.

This Answer was no way pleasing to the Envoy from *Kmielniski*, who declared how much his Master would be ill satisfied with it, and mingled threatnings of War with his discourse ; but proceeded not to breach of Peace, either by reason of the nearness of the *Polish* Army, and the Great General, whose admired desert or redoubted courage, might turn him from it ; or because, that the designs he laid of raising a Principality for himself, were not yet mature enough to disclose this ambitious project ; or, that he was willing to set down contented with his expedition into *Moldavia*, and with having made a new Alliance, although by force of Arms.

In the mean time the Nobility in *Ukraine* were as ill treated, as if it had been in time of War ; so that many were obliged every day to retire. Those persons who had great estates, and the Duke of *Wisnowitz*, in particular, received scarce any Rents ; the continual complaints of which to the King, induced him to write to *Kmielniski*, and to reproach him for the War which he had undertaken, contrary to his order, against the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, and for the injuries which the Nobility received, injoyning him to draw back the *Zapoorvian* Army into their quarters, and to chastise the Peasants who had taken Arms against their Lords.

This Letter was received with great respect in appearance, but he proceeded with much slowness, to execute what the King required of him ; and on the contrary, was very industrious at the same time, to make a strict League with the *Turk*, and Great Duke of *Moscovy*, whose friendship he desired with the
more

more importunity, by reason that he promised himself more security and advantage in his Alliance, then in the others, because of the Conformity of the Religion of the *Muscovites* with the *Cossacks*. The Great Duke approved not of this Rebellion, yet desired to make his advantage by it.

The great success which *Kmielniski* had had against the *Poles*, made him esteem them as a defeated and depressed people, and to begin a causeless quarrel with them, in hopes to obtain from them, during the bad condition of their affairs, a revocation of the Treaty, which he had been forced to make with King *Uladislaus* before *Smolenko*, when his whole Army was disarmed and taken which besieged that Fortrefs : He demanded also, in satisfaction for the affronts done him by some of the *Polish* Nobility, and among others, by Prince *Witnowitski* and *Koniespolski* ; who had not onely neglected to give him all his titles, but had also written in terms injurious to the reputation of the *Mosco-*
vite

vite Nation ; that the States of *Poland* should give up to him the City of *Smolensko* with its dependances, and should pay him the sum of an Hundred and fourscore thousand Ducats. VVhereupon his Majesty of *Poland* having sent a Gentleman, named *Barlinski*, to the Great Duke, to be more clearly informed concerning the insolent demands of his Ambassador ; upon whom, in the mean time, he had set a Guard. This Envoy brought back 'an Answer, which testified rather the inclination the *Moscovite* had to observe the former Treaties with *Poland*, then to come to a breach ; and in effect, although the Great Duke would with much joy have seen the increase of the *Greek* Religion, yet he could not look with a good eye upon the growing greatness of *Kmielniski*, nor be without some apprehension, that the Rebellion of the *Cossacks* and Peasants, might also spread it self into his own Countrey, whither already some sparks had flown of that fire which had burned *Poland*. So that the *Moscovite* Ambassador was forced to declare

in the presence of the King, and the Senators, That he, of his own head, had prepared those Propositions which he had delivered, and the Peace was confirmed between the *Poles*, and the Great Duke.

The continual correspondence which *Kmielniski* held with the *Turks*, of which, the King of *Poland* was advertised by the Neighboring Princes, and his insolent carriage towards the State, obliged his Majesty to call a General Diet of the Kingdom, in the end of the year One thousand six hundred and fifty; in which, this Prince represented the insupportable behavior of the General of the *Cossacks*; the contempt he had both of the King and State; the injuries which many of the Nobility had received; the loss of their Estates, and their not being able to be restored against *Kmielniski* his great forces, which he strove to increase by the addition of *Tartars* and *Turks*; so that he was in a condition to gather together on the suddain, an Army of more then Four-score

score thousand Men, every *Cossack* inrolled, of which, the number by the last Treaty, amounted to Forty thousand; had a servant on Horsback, and another on Foot, besides a Laborer to Till the Grounds; that their design was to shake off utterly all obedience, and to set up a new Government under the Protection of the Grand Signior: So that they would be capable of performing any thing, if that they did not soon put a stop to the course of their pernicious designs.

There were some in the Assembly, who calling to minde the evils, caused by the last VVar, were of opinion, That Peace at any rate was to be preferred before it; and alledged, that the Forces of the Kingdom were now notably decreased, whereas those of the *Cossacks* were very powerful, both of themselves, and by the assistance of the *Ottoman* family which protected them; so that it would be much better to keep close to the Treaty of *Zborow*: But the greater number making reflections upon what was passed, and what was to be

ex-

expected, considered that there were but two ways to be taken; the one to ruine the *Cossacks*, or, the other to let the Kingdom perish miserably; that the King had onely a title and precarious authority over them, no more then they pleased themselves; that they were now upon the design of forming a Principality, from whence they were to expect most dismal events, if they gave them time to increase and establish themselves; that they interpreted the Treaty after their own manner, and gave it what sence they pleased; that the State had yet considerable Forces, if they were well imployed; and that as affairs then stood, they were better able to give a stop to their new and rising power, then they could afterwards resist them, when they were raised, fortified, and established by time; that the King was brave and active, and with small Armies having done great exploits, he would obtain more signal advantages over his enemies, when the States should proceed to a more vigorous and powerful undertaking.

These

These Reasons, but much more the new demands of the *Cossacks* at the same time, caused all the rest of the Diet to be of this opinion, and unanimously to resolve of a VVar against them.

The *Cossacks* Demands were these, That according to the Articles of the Peace at *Zborow*, the Union of the *Greeks* and *Roman* Catholicks should be abolished; that *Kmielniski* should remain Sovereign beyond the *Boristhenes*; that none of the Nobility or Gentry of *Poland* should for the future, have any power over the Peasants of that Province; that if the Gentlemen would live there, they should be obliged to work as well as the Peasants; that Nine Bishops should swear in full Senate to see all this observed; that for Hostages they should give up four Palatines to *Kmielniski* which he should chuse, in consideration of which Articles he promised to pay to the King of *Poland* yearly a Million of Florins, and afterwards they reduced their Demands to Four.

I. That

1. **T**hat they might be put in possession of a Countrey, wherein they might live without any Communication with the Poles.

2. That His Majesty and Twelve of the Principal Senators of the Kingdom should bind themselves by Oath, always to observe the Peace of Zborow.

3. That for their greater security, three of these Senators should remain with their General.

4. That there should be no further Union of the Roman and Greek Churches.

But all these Demands being very exorbitant, and no body willing to trust to the Faith of a Man, who was not contented with the promise which the King and State had given him, by their Confirmation of the Treaty of Zborow, at the last Diet; they had no other thoughts but of making VVar. To perform which the more advantageously, they resolved to raise Fifty thousand Soldiers, to whom were to be joyned the Auxiliaries of the Noblemen and their

their Attendants, in case of need ; and many thought it fit, that the Auxiliaries should be spared , as a party reserved against the last extremities ; and that it were better to augment the number of the Soldiers to be raised. It was proposed also, that the War should be begun before the Spring, to hinder the *Cossacks* from making their due preparations, and to come at them with the more facility , while the Rivers and Marshes were yet frozen ; in which, they ordinarily secure themselves in their Marches, and in their Incampings. Besides which, they could not, but with great difficulty be assisted either by the *Turks* or *Tartars* ; the former not being accustomed to so rigorous a cold, and the latter would scarce finde Forrage in this season for their Horses. But this project could not immediately be put in execution , the Forces which were ordered by the Diet , could not so soon be raised ; so that the King sent onely the Field Marshal *Calinowski* to cover and defend the Frontiers from the assault of the *Cossacks*, if they should re-

solve upon War, rather than Peace; which was also to be once again offered them, upon the same terms as at the Treaty of Zborow. The intentions of *Kmielniski* quite contrary to Peace, were soon made known by the Hostilities which he began to commit upon the Frontiers. *Nieczai*, one of his Major Generals, put all the Countrey to Fire and Sword, and massacred those who were deputed to him from the Palatine of *Braclaw*, in the presence of a *Turkish* Envoy; but by the Forces of the same Palatine, and those of *Kalinowski*, he was driven into the City of *Crasna*; and part of his Men were cut in pieces in their retreat, after they had forsaken the Castle, which they could no longer hold; and amongst others, *Nieczai* himself, whom a Gentleman named *Baibuzza*, killed with his own hand, the rest were driven into a Village where they were together with it, either plundered or reduced to Ashes. *Bobun*, another General of the *Cossacks*, in the place of *Nieczai*, made head against *Kalinowski*, and seized upon the City

City of *Winnicza* seated upon the River *Bog* ; but the *Poles* having crossed the River, with great pains took the Castle by assault, in which they slew a number of their enemies, who had been assisted by *Gluki*, one of their Colonels. At last *Bobun* being reinforced by the *Cossackian* Regiments of *Czherin*, *Prziluka*, *Lubiecz*, and *Braclaw*, each consisting of Two thousand Men, *Kalinowski* was obliged to go out of the Town, after that he had left a Guard therein of Foot, and some Servants with the Baggage belonging to his Army, and to draw up his Forces in *Bataglia* in the Fields adjoyning, but some sudden feat possessing those who were left in *Winnicza*, they forsook the Town, and the *Cossacks* encompassing the *Polish* Forces, constrained them to retreat in disorder under the Cannon of *Bar*, with the loss of Four thousand five hundred Footmen and their Artillery.

This shock obliged the King of *Poland*, who was gone on Pilgrimage to

Zurowitz, a place of Devotion in *Lithuania*, to take his journey in all haste towards the Frontiers, where the great General *Potoski* was gathering together his Forces about *Sokal*. This Prince being arrived at *Lublin*, was informed of the irruption of the *Cossacks* into *Podolia*, and the Confederation between the Grand Seignior and *Kmielniski*, and that the Emperor had sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople*; so that he saw himself obliged to use his utmost endeavors, and to Summon all his Auxiliaries together.

Kalinowski who was retreated from *Bar* to *Kamienecz*, having received orders to come with all diligence towards the Army. After that he had left a sufficient garison for the defence of that Fortrefs, which was a place of so great importance to *Poland*, and all Christendom, was followed in his march by Eighteen thousand *Cossacks* and Two thousand *Tartars*; while the rest of their Forces which amounted to more then Three-score and ten thousand Men, resolved

to attack *Kamienecz*, without the order or knowledge of their General. And having taken the Castle of *Panocze* near to it, by composition, where they got considerable booty. They made many assaults upon this Fortrefs, but all in vain, being continually repulsed with so great a loss, that they were ready to cut their Officers in pieces, who had exposed them to so dangerous an enterprise, without acquainting *Kmielniski* with it; who so soon as he knew it, sent them orders to remove. Those who were bent upon the pursuit of the Forces of *Kalinowski*, had not much better success in setting upon them, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Flank, and sometimes in the Rear; being always repulsed with great valor by the General, although with the loss of many of his own. Upon the Fourteenth of *May*, 1651. they set upon *Zobieski* his Regiment, but were so received, that they left many behinde them; and amongst others *Canowiecz*, one of their Colonels, and a *Tartarian Murza*. At length *Kalinowski* was constrained by

reason of the difficult Passages, and the bad ways, to leave his Carriages. To repair which loss, and to make his Army appear more numerous to the enemy, he set the Servants upon those Horses which drew the Baggage; and after having sustained many assaults, and escaped the many difficulties and inconveniences of the March, he arrived most fortunately at the Camp Royal, in the end of *May*.

The Forces raised at the expence of the States, and by the Noblemen came in daily from all parts, there were reckoned Ten thousand of these latter; and the whole Army, together with the Nobility, made up an Hundred thousand fighting Men, besides the Servants, who were very numerous, and most of them furnished with Horse and Arms. This great Army not being able to subsist long in one place, without suffering the want of Provisions; after that all care possible was taken to furnish them, it was resolved, they should be employed as soon as could be. In a
great

great Council of War, which was held thereupon, and lasted a whole night; some proposed to divide the Army into two Bodies, and to send the first, consisting of the Common Soldiers, against the enemies, while his Majesty might attend the success of the War at *sokallo*, with the Voluntiers and Auxiliaries, for a reserve against the greatest extremity: But this advise was not approved by the King, nor by many of the Principal Officers, who remonstrated that if the Army were thus divided, it might be more easily encountred and defeated by the enemies; but being all in one Body, they would not onely be in a condition to oppose, but also to overcome them. They concluded therefore to march directly towards them, by the most short and easie way, which was, that by *Bereftesko*. The King set forward with all his Forces upon the Fifteenth of *June*, and sent out divers parties to hear news of the *Cossacks*. The Marshy, Moorish places which he was to travel through, and the great number of Carriages caused his Forces

to march scatteringly. So that he thought it necessary to divide them into Ten Brigades, if we may so name a Body of Ten or twelve thousand men, of which number each was composed; he reserved the first for himself, gave the command of the second to the great General *Potoski*; the third to the General of the Campagne *Kalinowski*, Palatine of *Czernibowia*; the fourth to *John Simon Szcadinski*, Palatine of *Brestek*; the fifth to the Duke of *Wisnowitz*, Palatine of *Russia*; the sixth to *Stanislus Potoski*, Palatine of *Podolia*; the seventh to the Grand Marshal of the Kingdom *Lubamirski*; the eighth to *Stanislus Landskoronski*, Palatine of *Braclaw*; the ninth to the Vice-chancellor of *Lithuania*, *Sapieha*; the tenth to *Koniespolski*, the Great Ensign to the Crown. The Polish Army came the next day, being the Sixteenth, to *Wynanka*, a place abounding in Water, and good Pasture Grounds; where they understood by a Soldier, who had left the *Cossacks* Army, that *Kmielniski* was gone from his Camp, which lay between

Zbaras

Zbaras and *Wisnowitz*, to go meet the *Cham*, whom he expected with impatience ; having called for his assistance, not trusting enough in his own Forces, although he had a prodigious multitude of revolted Peasants joyned with his *Cossacks*, but had as yet but Six thousand *Tartars* with him.

The King arriving at *Bereftesko*, of which Town, the Count of *Lefno*, under Chamberlain of *Brzestia* is Lord ; he incamped near it, all along the River of *Ster*, which washes this place on all sides, and then sent out Three thousand Horse under the command of *Stemkowski* and *Czarneski*, to be certainly informed of the enemies march, and understood by some prisoners whom they took, that the *Cham* was come to *Rmielniski* with a numerous Army, and that he had sent out parties to learn in what place and condition the *Polish* Army was. Upon this news, it was resolved of in a Council of War, to dislodge from *Bereftesko*, and to place themselves at *Dubno*, a Town belonging

ing to the Palatine of *Cracovia*. The Baggage began to move, and the Army was about to march with a resolution to encounter the *Cossacks* wheresoever they should oppose them, when the Duke of *Wisnowitz*, who was of the Guard, sent to advertise the King, that *Kmielniski* and the Cham were coming in all haste towards him. And the Grand General understanding by a Peasant, that the enemies promised themselves assured victory, if they could fall upon the *Polish* Army, intangled in the way, resolved to stay at *Bereskesko*, and the Baggage was ordered to be brought back, which was upon the way. Scarce were they returned into the Camp, but the Scouts brought word, that the whole Army of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* were near to *Pereatin*, a Village within five hundred paces; so that the Generals presently drew up the *Polish* Army, left the River *Ster* on one side of them, and lined all the Wooded places near, with divers Companies of Foot, for fear of an Ambush.

The

The Twenty seventh of *June*, about night, Ten thousand *Tartars* drawn out from the rest, came near to the *Polish* Army, to take a view of it, making, as if they came to provoke them to fight. The Grand Marshal, and Grand Ensign, not being able to suffer their insolence, went out with their Regiments, by the permission of the Great General, and the assistance also of *Wisnowitski* his Regiment, and engaged them a long while, repulsed them, and drove them back half a League. Upon the Eight and twentieth, there was another more fierce skirmish; the *Cham* placed himself and his whole Army upon certain Eminencies in sight of the *Poles*, strengthened with some of the choice Forces of the *Cossacks*. The *Polish* Army being also drawn up in order, the Regiments of the Palatine of *Brzestia* and *Pomerania*, of the Duke *Bogislaws Radzevil*, and the Palatine of *Witebsko* with the Horse of *Przemislia* and *Volhynia*, went to set upon the *Tartars*, who to revenge the defeat they received the day before,

fore, seeing that the Horse was backed but with a small number of Foot, they poured in upon them great numbers of Men. *Landskoronski* was the first who could put a stop to this torrent, neither was it done without the loss of many of his own Men, and of his Brother; and he himself was so encompassed by a great number of those Infidels, that to disengage him, there were sent out the Regiments of the Great General of the General of the Campagne, of the Palatine of *Russia*, of the Grand Marshal and of *Sapieha*. The fight grew hot upon the arrival of this reinforcement, and many were slain on both sides; the *Tartars* lost about a Thousand Men, and divers prisoners of considerable note were taken, amongst others, the Secretary to the Cham. The *Poles* had Three hundred of theirs slain, and amongst them *Casanowski*, Governor of *Halicz*, *Ossolinski*, *Staroste* of *Lublin*, Nephew to the Great Chancellor deceased, *Stadniski* Under-Chamberlain of *Sanoc*, *Ligeza* Sword-bearer of *Przemisia*, *Biecziski*, Captain *Jourdan* and,

and divers Gentlemen of the Palatinate of *Lencicia*; and so ended the Engagement of the Eight and twentieth of *June*. The Night following, having considered in their Council of War, that the Enemies design was to delay time; and to reduce the *Polanders* to extremities for want of Provision in a Countrey too far distant from any place whence they might draw their subsistence, they thought it better to employ their Army, while it was in its strength and vigor, and determined to give Battel the next day: The King spent most of the night at his devotions, and in ordering his affairs; so soon as it was day, he drew up his Army, without the enemies perceiving it in the least, by favor of a great Mist, which continued till Nine in the Morning. The Right Wing of the First Line was commanded by the Grand General *Potoski*, and under him by *Landskoronski*, Palatine of *Braclaw*, *Opalinski* Palatine of *Posnania*, *Lubomirski* Grand Marshal of the Kingdom, *Sapieha* Vice-Chancellor of *Lithuania*, *Koniespolski* Grand Ensign

to the Crown, the Count *Vladislav* of *Leszno*, Under-Chamberlain of *Pozna-*
nia, the two *Zobieski*'s Sons to the Go-
 vernor of *Cracovia* deceased; and some
 other great Persons who had raised
 Forces at their own expences. The
 Conduct of the Left Wing was commit-
 ted to *Kalinowski* General of the Cam-
 pagne, to the Dukes of *Ostrog* and *Zas-*
law, to the Palatine of *Brzestya*, the
 Duke of *Wisnowitz* Palatine of *Russia*,
 to *Stanislaus Potoski* Palatine of *Podolia*,
 to *John Zamoiski*, and to Colonel *Em-*
hoff of *Liesland*; many of which had
 joyned the Forces which they had rais-
 ed in their own Countreys to those of
 the States. The King took charge of
 the main Body of the Army, composed
 of the *German* and *Polish* Foot; at the
 Head of which, stood the Artillery,
 commanded by *Sigismund Priemski*,
 who was General of it, and had been
 a long time Major General under the
Swedes in *Germany*. The Second Line,
 in the middle of which, his Majesty of
Poland took his place, consisted of
 Horse, and was commanded amongst
 other

other Officers, by *Tyskewitz*, Great Cup-bearer of *Lithuania*. The Body of Reserve, was commanded by Colonel *Meydel*, Great Master of the Game, and by Colonel *Enhoff*, *Staroste* of *Sokal*, and was composed of the Horse of *Grudzinski* and *Rozracewski*; and of the Foot of Prince *Charles*, Brother to the King, and of *Koniespolski's*, and Colonel *Du Pleffis*, a Frenchman. The Baggage and Ammunition was left in the Camp, which was intrenched on one side, and defended on the other by the Town and the River. The King had left some Companies of Foot therein for a Guard, who appeared afar of much more numerous then they were, by reason of their Lances, which by the Kings Orders, the *Huzzars* had left to them; every one of which had a Red Penon or Little Streamer at the end; and when they were all drawn up in order, made a very fair show. The Sun dispersing the Mist, which till that time, had covered the Army, it appeared to the Enemy like a beautiful perspective on a Theatre, when the
Curtain

Curtain is drawing up, who were surpris'd at their number and good order; notwithstanding their Army was more numerous, and covered all the Countrey as far as could be seen. The *Tartars* possessed themselves of divers little Hills, from whence there was an easie descent, and filled up all the space in form of an Half-Moon: They had the *Cossacks* on their Right Hand, opposite to the Left Wing of the *Polish* Army, with whom were also joyned some Squadrons of *Tartars*; and near to them was the Tabor of the *Cossacks*, composed of divers Ranks of Chariots; in the middle of which, were part of their Forces able to sustain all assaults whatsoever.

The two Armies being thus placed all the morning was spent in light skirmishes, but the King doubting lest that the intention of the enemies was to amuse them with these small combats and to set upon them the night following, when by reason of the darkness they might the better surprize them,

them, he prohibited all his Soldiers upon pain of death from stirring out of their places without order, and commanded all the Bridges to be broken down which were built over the *Ster*, that they might not be set upon behind, and by this means to ingage his own Soldiers to perform their utmost, all hopes of escaping being cut off, and that the rest of the day might not be spent unprofitably, which was scarce sufficient for a general Battel between two such numerous Armies, he began to salute the Enemies with the Cannon at the head of his Army, and so from time to time to discharge against them as they drew nearer to those Eminencies whereon the *Tartars* were placed. Divers seeing the day so far spent, were of opinion that the Fight should be deferred till the next morning, but others insisted much upon the contrary, fearing lest the *Cossacks* might fall upon the *Polish* Army in the night with their Tabor, which they had extraordinarily reinforced, and might therewithal constrain them to quit

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their

their Camp. His Majesty therefore caused the Duke of *Wisnowitz* to begin the charge with twelve Troops of old Soldiers, backed by the Palatine of *Podolia*, with the Auxiliaries of the Palatinates of *Cracovia*, *Sendomir*, *Lencicia*, and *Przemistia*, the *Cossacks* received them briskly, and the conflict lasted near an hour, all which time the smook and dust made them invisible to the rest of the Army; and as the *Poles* began to give way, they were timely assisted by fresh Forces, which the King sent them; upon whose arrival, the *Cossacks* were driven into their Tabor, together with the *Tartars*, who engaged them upon a rising Ground. In the mean time, the King marched against the great Body of the *Tartars*, the Right Wing staying near a Wood side, to hinder the design of many of their enemies who were in Ambush, with intention to compass in the *Polish* Army in the heat of the Battel. The King kept the Artillery still before him, which *Priemski* caused to be discharged very opportunely, and with great success.

So

So that they obliged the *Tartars* to leave the foot of the Hill , and by degrees made themselves masters also of the top; after they had sustained the discharges of the *Janissaries* Carbines, who accompanied them.

In this place His Majesty of *Poland* was in great danger of his life, having four Bullets shot from some pieces which the *Tartars* had by a Wood side, passing very near him, and one of them falling at his feet ; but the *Poles* soon returned them the like: For *Otuinowski*, Interpreter to his Majesty of *Poland* for the *Turkish* and *Tartar* Languages assuring them, that the Cham was there in person where they saw the great White Standard. The King ordered a piece of Cannon to be so levelled, that the first shot took one of the Principal Officers , who stood near the Cham ; which disturbed and frightened him so much, that he thought not farther of any thing but retreating ; that part of his Army which had been driven from the Hill, followed him also, having left

some Squadrons behind to disguise his retreat, and amuse the *Polanders* for some time: But they were soon put to their shifts, and the *Poles* pursued them a League and a half, till the Night and the swiftness of their *Bacmates* or *Tartar* Horses secured them; yet they left many in their retreat, wounded and slain, which they were used to carry off, and to burn in their march when they had leisure; esteeming it abominable to leave the dead Bodies of their Friends in the hands of Christians: They left also much of their equipage, as Vests, Saddles, Cimitars, Chariots, and the Tent and Standard of their Cham, and his little Silver Drum, gilded over and covered with a Skin, which serves him for a Bell.

Divers *Polanders* who had been Slaves to those Infidels, did here recover their Liberty, but many others were killed by them, when they saw they could not carry them away with them in their retreat, which was so hasty, that they travelled Ten French Leagues

Leagues the same day. The King after he had sent out divers Troops of Horse in pursuit of the *Tartars*, went with the rest of his Army against the Tabor of the *Cossacks*, where they were still in great numbers, and had Forty pieces of Ordnance which played continually. *Kmielniski* was retreated with the *Tartars* in hopes to engage them again to fight, but he could by no means persuade them to it; but on the contrary, was very ill treated by the Cham, and reproached as one that had cheated him, and not made known the true state of the *Polish* Army, but had made him believe they were not above Twenty thousand; and therefore he threatned to send him to the King of *Poland*, in exchange for those *Murza's* which were Prisoners there, and would not let him go free, till he had sent order to *Czeherin* to deliver up a considerable sum of Money, and part of the Booty which he had formerly taken in *Poland*.

The night following the King ordered there should be a Publick Thanksgiving in the Camp, for this Victory, which cost him but Twelve hundred Men, his enemies having lost Six times as many ; he passed the night in his Coach : And although it was very Rainy, he neglected not to cause the Cannon to be mounted upon the Hill, which was forsaken by the *Tartars*, the more conveniently to beat the Tabor of the *Cossacks* in pieces ; which notwithstanding the Rain, they had fortified with a broad deep Ditch, and lined with Muskettiers in those places where it was most weak and open, and had a Marsh behind them, which did sufficiently secure them. By reason of *Kmielniski* his absence, they conferred the command of their Army upon one of their Officers, called *Dziadziali*, a person of remarkable cruelty. They had recourse to all remedies probable to give them help, they wrote to the King, to implore his clemency, and to testify to him the extream desire which they had for

for Peace ; but seeing their Arms and Pens were both together in their hands, their Prince thought of no other way, but of reducing them by force ; which appeared also not difficult to accomplish, by reason they began already to fall into divisions amongst themselves. Some of the *Polish* Commanders were of opinion, that they should drown the Camp of the *Cossacks*, by making a dam and stopping the Course of the Water ; but the advice to batter it down, was followed, and to this purpose they brought great Cannon from *Brody*, a Fortrefs built by the deceased Grand General *Koniespolski* : They made also Bridges above and below their Camp, for the better communication of the *Polish* Forces, and raised many Forts and Redoubts in the most eminent places, from whence they might make their Batteries.

The Fourth of *July*, the *Cossacks* surprised one of these Forts, wherein were two pieces of Ordnance and Fourscore *Polanders*, whose Heads they struck off

with their Sythes, Arms, which their Foot ordinarily make use of instead of Pikes. But General *Hubald* ran upon them, and drove them from it, and forced them to leave the Cannon which they were carrying away into their Tabor: The same day the *Cossacks* possessed themselves of a Hill, by which means they could the more easily seek out Forrage; but the Grand Ensign dislodged them, and brought away Five hundred of their Horses.

The fifth they came out of their Camp, in great number, in appearance as if they would give the *Poles* battel again, but they were driven back into their Intrenchments after a strong encounter, and the loss of Four hundred of their Men. *Sokol* and *Piascozin*, of the *Polish* side, were wounded in this conflict, which was attended with a continual discharge of the Artillery on both sides, and great destruction.

The *Cossacks* seeing themselves thus ill handled, betook themselves to stratagems,

tagems, and in the night following attacked the *Polish* Army with all their Force ; but their design was prevented first by the fall of the Rain, and then by the vigilance of the King and his Generals, who doubled their Guards. At this time *Mehemet Czelebey*, a Converted *Tartar*, who had been a long while in the service of the Great General, and had been made a Captain by him, having been sent out with a party to pursue the *Tartars*, returned into the Camp, bringing back prisoner with him, a *Tartar* of quality, named *Murtasa Aga*, one of the Cham's Kinred, who had been wounded at the Battel of *Bereskesko*, and was not able to follow the rest, and had offered Fifteen thousand Rixdollars to *Czelebey* for his ransom ; but this *Polonised Tartar*, preferred his Faith and Promise which he had many years since ingaged to the Great General his Master, before all the Money and other considerable advantages, which this great person of *Tartary* offered him, if he would return with him into his Countrey. He reported

ed also, that he had found by the way, more then Ten thousand *Tartars*, either slain or wounded, which they had left behind them : An extraordinary mark of their precipitous flight, their custom being to burn them, rather then leave them in the power of their Enemies.

The *Cossacks* whose last design took no effect, were now more and more backed in and incommoded ; their onely refuge was the passage which they kept through the Marsh ; by which they went out to Forrage, and by which they might retreat. But Colonel *Balabani* who was placed with Tenthousand Men on the other side of the Water, began to constrain the Liberty of the Excursions ; and it was determined, that more Forces should be sent on that side to hinder them altogether.

At length the *Polish* Artillery thundering against their Tabor, with more execution then ever, they sent out three Deputies, *Kresa*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Czeherin*, *Hladki*, and *Perkaslawski*,

lauski, to desire Peace ; they applied themselves first to the Great General, who severely reproaching them for their cruelty and perfidiousness , told them , That they had rendred themselves unworthy of the favor of his Majesty of *Poland* ; and that they did not deserve to be used as Christians, after that infamous Alliance which they had made with the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

The King notwithstanding, by the advice of the Senators, admitted them to Audience under a Pavillion set upon the Hill, from whence the *Tartars* had been driven ; where they fell down upon their faces , and presented a Letter in the name of all the *Cossacks* , and often begged for *Mercy, Mercy*, repeating this word at all the requests they made ; and upon all occasions, kissing the Hands and Garments of the Senators who were there present. His Majesty of *Poland* having called his Counsel, answered them by the Bishop of *Culm*, his Great Chancellor , That although their crimes were such , that
they

they ought to have made them loose all hopes of Pardon; yet his Majesty desiring to be conformable to the Divine Goodness and Mercy, did impart his; and if they would give sufficient proofs of their true Repentance, and perfect Submission, he would pardon all what was passed, upon those conditions which they should receive in writing the next day about Eleven of the Clock. Till which time, a Cessation of Arms was granted as they desired. *Cresa*, their Principal Deputy, remained as an Hostage, and the other Deputies returned upon the Seventh at the hour appointed, to receive the Articles, upon which the King of *Poland* would grant his Pardon and Abolition of their Misdemeanors.

It was demanded by these Articles, That they should first put Twelve of their Principal Commanders in Hostage, till they could deliver up unto the King their General *Kmielniski*, and *Wihowski* his Secretary.

2. That

2. That they should restore the Artillery, and the Ensigns which they had taken in the War.

3. That they should give up the Standard belonging to the General of their *Militia*, to be disposed of to whom his Majesty pleased.

4. That if they were not contented, that their number should be reduced to Twelve thousand for the Guard of the Frontiers, this Article should be referred to the next Diet.

5. That as to their Priviledges which they might pretend to, those onely should be continued to them which were granted by the deceased General *Koniespolski* in the year One thousand six hundred and twenty eight.

The Deputies returning to their Camp, and making known these Conditions of Peace, brought back the next day this Answer.

That as to the first Article they would promise, to do their utmost, to put

put *Kmielniski* and his Secretary into the Kings hands, and would yield to the Second and third; but as for more, they could never agree to, nor hold to any other Articles, then those of the Treaty of *Zborow*.

The King much offended at this Answer, redoubled his Batteries and resolved absolutely to exterminate them, as they on the contrary would chuse rather to die, then to recede from that Treaty.

They answered to the discharges of the *Polish* Artillery, but not so often; which gave suspicion that their Powder was spent: Some were so bold as to advance so near to the *Polish* Camp, that they heard the orders which were given to the *Polish* Soldiers; which being known, they were obliged to change their orders; as also, the design they had formed of giving a general assault to their Tabor: And so strongly did the *Cossacks* resist all the attempts of the *Polanders* against them, that their valor had merited extraordinary Commendations, if it had not been accompanied with

with many detestable cruelties, as Flea-
 ing alive, burning by degrees; and
 doing a thousand other mischeifs to the
Polanders who fell into their hands. So
 much did the proposing of those Con-
 ditions, wherewith they were to buy
 their Peace, inspire them with Rage
 and Fury, in which they were kept on
 by their *Popes* (for so they call their
Priests) who ceased not to encourage
 them with the hopes of the quick re-
 turn of their General, and the *Tartars*.
 But the inconveniences which they suf-
 fered, and the long absence of *Kmiel-*
niski undeceiving them from the false
 hopes they sustained of a speedy assist-
 ance, they began to desire Peace very
 earnestly; their Commanders who saw
 that it could not be effected, but to
 their prejudice, resisted with all their
 power: And seeing that *Dziadziali*,
 whom they had substituted in the room
 of *Kmielniski*, did lend an Ear towards
 an accommodation, they forsook him,
 and set up *Bohun* in his place; who to
 signalize the beginning of his new Ge-
 neralship, upon the information he re-
 ceived

ceived that the Palatine of *Braclaw* had passed the River with some Forces, to shut up those Passages which the *Cossacks* made use of to go out to Forage, and by which, they might at last retreat; he went out with a good number of the *Old Cossackin Militia*, and two pieces of Cannon, to drive them back, and to reinforce the Guards which they had placed in the Forts, made for the preservation of the Passage: But scarce was he out of the Camp, when as the jealousy and suspicion which they had a long time harbored, That the old Soldiers and Officers had a design to retreat and leave the rest, began now to break out, and a new raised *Cossack*, having published it aloud, That *Bohun* was gone out to this intent. The noise of it immediately spread it self throughout the Camp, and caused such a consternation, that every one began to flie in the greatest disorder.

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The Ways and Causeys which they had made in the Marshes near their Camp were too straight, and many falling in, stuck fast in the Mire, although they laid their Vests, Cloaks, and other garments to draw them out. *Bobun* perceiving this confusion, came with his old soldiers to remedy it, but could not, and the Torrent drawing them in also along with it, they were forced to follow the example of the rest. The Palatine of *Braclaw* seeing the enemies Army come out of their *Tabor* so precipitously, could not imagine what it meant, and thinking at first that they came to fall upon him, he placed himself with the two thousand men which he had onely then with him, in a posture the most advantageous to hinder his being encompassed in, but taking more notice of the enemy a while after, he was better informed, and began to pursue them, but was stopped by the force and confusion of the rout as they saved themselves; yet he set upon them as soon

as he could, being seconded by the Auxiliaries of the Palatine of *Plosko*, who making a review at the same time when the flight of the *Cossacks* began, was the nearest to pursue them; The rest of the *Polish* Army which did not expect that their enemies should be so suddenly routed, and consequently were not on horseback, except those who guarded the Camp, ran straight to the *Tabor* of the *Cossacks*, where finding sufficient booty, they employed themselves about it, instead of pursuing their enemies; the *Cossacks* lost no less in this flight then twenty thousand men, either killed by the *Polanders*, or lost in the Woods, Briers, Marshes, and Boggs; two thousand of them retreating to a little hill within their *Tabor*, not in hopes of any relief, but as men resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could; when they saw themselves constrained to yield to the multitude of the *Polanders*, some cast themselves into the River, others into the Boggs, and in one place three hundred of them were in a body together

gether, and defended themselves valiantly against the great number of those who assaulted them, and set upon them on all sides; yet that these also might not despair, and set too little value upon their lives, the *Poles* offered them both that and any thing else they had of value about them, but this rather incensed them the more; and immediately they took out of their Pockets and Girdles, all their Money: or whatsoever they had considerable, and threw it into the water, and after that, fought till the last man, every one as it were resolving to fight singly against the force of *Poland*; and what was very remarkable, one of them held out three hours against all assaults whatsoever; for having got a little Boat in a Pond in the Marshes, and covered himself with the sides of it, he avoided all the shot which they made at him, and in answer, shot away all the Powder he had at them; and with his *Sithe* repulsed all those who attacked him. A *Muscovite* who set upon him with the same weapon could do nothing, and for all his skill hardly e-

scaped from being cut off by the middle, next, a Gentleman of the Countrey of *Czechanon*, and a German Foot-soldier seeing that the *Muscovite* could not accomplish his designe, went into the water up to the neck, and begun the fight again, and were received with as much vigor by the *Cossack*, who was now wounded with fourteen Musket Bullets, to the great astonishment of the Army, and the King of *Poland* himself in whose sight this was performed; the King who could not enough admire the valour of the man, called out that they should give him his life, upon condition that he would yield, to which he gave this resolute answer, that he cared not to live, but desired onely to die like a soldier, and at last was run through with a Pike by the hand of another *German*, who came in to reinforce the assault.

The *Polanders* found in the *Cossacks* Camp, besides a number of Women and Children, a very considerable booty, and forty pieces of Ordnance, and
much

much Powder, many Ensignes, and amongst others the Standard, which the King at his election sent to *Kmielniski* as a mark of the confirmation of his Generalship; and another which King *Vladislans* sent to the *Cossacks* when he intended to imploy them in a war which he designed against the *Muscovites*; another which the *Cossacks* took from the *Poles* the last 25 of *June*; the Sword which the *Greek Patriarch* sent to *Kmielniski*, as an acknowledgement to him for his taking upon him to defend the *Greek Church*. The ornaments for a Chappel and other rich moveables of a *Greek Prelate*, who stiled himself Archbishop of *Corinth*, and was the Resident of the Patriarch with *Kmielniski*, he it was that most of all incouraged and kept on the Rebellion of the *Cossacks* and *Russians*, and was much against any accommodation, he was killed in his flight with an Arrow shot by a young man a *Polander*. They found also *Kmielniski* his Cabinet, wherein was the Seal of the *Zaporovian Army*, and divers Letters from the Grand Signior,

the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, and the Prince of *Transylvania*, with about thirty thousand Rixdollars, which were designed for the *Tartars*; Vests lined with rich Furrs, Arms in great number, and Provision in abundance; and even the Pots and Spits at the fire, a signe that their flight was not at all premeditated.

This defeat cost the *Poles* not many men, and but one Captain of *Radzevil* his Regiment of Foot, who was slain at the attacking of the three hundred *Cossacks* who retired into the Marsh. Besides those who were already sent to pursue the *Cossacks*; the General of the *Campagna* and the Duke of *Wisnowitz* with seven Regiments were Commanded out to hinder them from rallying, who killed all they overtook, a great number of them attempting to retreat by *Dubno*, three thousand were cut in pieces by the Garrison of that Town, and divers others as they passed over a long Causey. The King leaving almost all the

the Auxiliaries at *Bereſtesko*, marched also in purſuit of them towards *Krzmi-
enecz* ; but found in all that journey nothing but ſpectacles of horror, the ways being ſtrewed with dead bodies, and the Woods filled with thoſe miſerable perſons, who after their defeat, fled into the thickeſt part of them, where they found no other ſuſtenance for many days, than the Barks of Trees, and moſt of them were ſo weak, that their Legs were not able to ſerve them in their flight ; the indignation of the *Polanders* at length was changed into pity at the ſight of theſe Skeletons, and inſtead of purſuing them to deſtroy them, they did it to give them their lives, and to perſwade them to preſerve themſelves. The King himſelf ſeeing them in this deplorable condition, cauſed Proviſions to be diſtributed amongſt them, and aſſured them of pardon if they would leave the rebellious *Coffacks* and return to their Houſes ; thus did his *Polish* Maſteſty ſhew his Clemency, and not rigorouſly put to the ſword that rebellious people

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whereby he must have necessarily depopulated one of the principal Provinces of his Kingdom, which served for a Rampart to the rest, and must consequently have ruined a number of Gentlemen, and chief of the Nobility, who having great Estates there, could not have received their Rents, if the Countrey had been unpeopled. The Peasants in *Poland* being a part of the Gentlemens inheritance, and by this means they being deprived of their Tenants, it would have been very difficult for them to find others to serve them in the Tenure of Villenage, and this is the true Motive which then and at other times hath hindered the utter ruine of the *Cossacks*, without which consideration, it would not have been difficult to have destroyed them.

The King judging his presence necessary to terminate this War, and to compleat the Reduction of the *Cossacks*, made account to march with his whole Army to *Kiovia*, and from thence to send his Forces and Orders necessary
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for the accomplishing of this design. But the Nobility opposed it, alledging, That the necessity of his Affairs did oblige him to return; and that part of the Army, would be sufficient to perform what remained, That the *Cossacks* were scattered, and in no condition to rally after this defeat; that if any of them should take up Arms again, the raised Troops would be sufficient to hinder and render useless all their attempts whatsoever, and in one word, that there could be no pretence of leading the Nobility into a Countrey desolate and laid waste by the continual violencies of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, and where they might be famished; so that upon a general Council held at *Orla*, of all the Commanders and Officers of the Army, it was determined, that those who would return should be satisfied, which were the greater number; and his Majesty of *Poland* after he had left his Instructions with the Great General *Potoski*, for the consummating that which he had so happily undertaken, took his journey towards
Warsaw,

Warsaw, having first had a promise from the Nobility of a new supply of Men and Money. The King before his departure also received an account, how that the Cham being informed of the defeat of the *Cossacks*, had hastened his retreat towards *Crim*, and that the four thousand *Turks* who came to their assistance, having also intelligence of it, had passed the *Boristhenes* with all diligence: This news was accompanied also with that of the defeat of the *Cossacks*, in *Lythuania* by Prince *Radzevil*.

The *Cossacks* to the number of twelve thousand, Commanded by *Niebaba* one of their Generals, had placed themselves near to *Loiomogrod*, at the entrance of the River *Sesze* into the *Boristhenes*, where after they had made Works to secure to themselves the passage over those Rivers, their General left Forces to guard them. Prince *Radzevil*, General of *Lythuania*, hearing of this, resolved to set upon them, and to this effect, sent before him Major General *Mirski* with three thousand chosen

sen men, with Orders to pass the *Boristhenes*, and he himself embarked with the rest of his Foot and his Artillery, while his Horse marched by Land, at his arrival he set upon their intrenchments on one side, while that *Mirski* to whom he had given the signal by the discharge of some of his Cannon, was to fall upon the other; the *Cossacks* defended themselves bravely for an hour and half, after which they were overthrown and cut in pieces. *Niebaba* coming with his Army to the relief of his.

Prince *Radzevil*, although that *Mirski* were not yet joyned with him, as having not passed the River which parted them, neglected not to encounter him, and after a sharp conflict, in which three of the principal Colonels of the *Cossacks* and *Niebaba* their General was slain, overthrew their Army, killed threethousand men, took many prisoners, and amongst the rest the Nephew of *Niebaba*, the rest saved themselves in their Camp, which was not far from the place of Battel, which they also sodainly abandoned, as also the City of *Lubiecz*,
and

and *Czernobel* near to it, who yielded up themselves without making any great resistance to *Gonsiowski*, General of the Artillery of *Lythuania*; after which Prince *Radzevil* took his way towards *Kiowia*, to put an end to the remainder of the Rebellion in those parts.

General *Potoski* employed himself to the same purpose in *Volhynia*, where the difficulty of getting Provisions having forced him to divide his Army into many parts, he appointed their Rendezvous to be at *Lubertowa*, a Town which in the heat of all the war had preserved it self by the convenience of its scituation, and number of its Inhabitants, and from thence to goe and make an attempt upon *Pawolocz*, and *Bialacierkiew*, giving a strict Command, that the Officers should order it, that their Soldiers should so behave themselves in that manner, that the Peasants might by no means be constrained to quit their Houses, or to destroy what Provisions were left. The Gentlemen also took all care to bring the Peasants

to their former duty, promising them by Letters and Messages, that they should be most favourably dealt withal, if they would return to their obedience.

In the mean time *Kmielniski* having with a summe of Money, appeased the Cham and freed himself, returned into *Ukrain* to strengthen and confirme the minds of those people, which the last defeat and his absence had very much shaken; and taking the same course as formerly, in those places where he could not be in person, by his Letters and Emissaries, he gave new heat to their courage, which was very much abated, exhorting them to maintain the cause of the Publick, and putting them in mind how fortune was momentary and changeable, and if of late she had declared her self in favour of the *Poles*, yet she had left the *Cossacks* Strength and forces sufficient to renew the war and recover their losses, and to feed their hopes, he gave out that one *Ragoci* in *Poland* was revolted, and thereby had obliged the King to draw
back

back the greatest part of his Army to stop his progress, that the Flower of the old *Cossackian* Militia was gathering together, and that in few days the *Tartars* would come and joyn with them again to revenge their last defeat, and to keep up the hopes of this people still more high, from time to time he dispatched several Embassies to the Cham, which he accompanied with magnificent promises to induce him to afford him new supplies, remonstrating to him that the security of both their fortunes depended upon it, and that the ruine of the one would infallibly expose the other to the *Polish* power; he sent also three Envoyes to the *Ottoman* Court, to represent to them, that if the *Cossacks* were assisted by the Grand Signior, they might be in a condition to make head against all the Forces of *Poland*, but if they were abandoned, they must be necessitated to an accommodation, and in the end to make war against himself.

Prince

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Prince *Janus Radzevil*, to whom *Hlebowitz*, Palatine of *Smolensko* was joyned, having left *Fronckewitz*, Lieutenant-Collonel of the Hussars, with some Forces about *Czernikow*, to hinder the excursions of that Garrison, went towards *Kiovia*; after they had forced from those Quarters the *Cossackian* Collonels, *Antonio* and *Orkussa*, and put their Forces into such disorder, that they were constrained to burn their Tabor, and their Bridge, and fly into the Town; neither did they stay there any time, for the terror of the march of the *Lythuanian* Army spreading it self through the rest of the *Cossackian* Forces, who thought to shelter themselves in the Countrey about, they quitted that Town, which was one of their principal Retreats. The Inhabitants seeing they were deprived of their Garrison, and all other means of defending themselves, sent their Supplications to the *Polish* General by their Archbishop, and their Archimandrit or Abbot of their chief *Greek* Monastery, requesting of him that he would spare
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that City which the King had always the goodness to preserve, and which during the last wars, had served for a place of refuge to the *Polish* Nobility, which request was granted by Prince *Radzevil*, who onely disarmed them, to take away from them for the future the opportunity of doing ill.

Kmielniski hearing of the loss of *Kiovia*, doubled his diligence, and sought out all means imaginable to bring a new Army into the Field, able to stop the progress of his enemies, and the unfortunate posture of his affairs suggested counsel to him full of fury and despair: in the middle of which, he found not only his *Cossacks*, but a great part of the Peasants also inclined to try again the fortune of the war, and among these latter, there were some who openly declared, that it was disgraceful to them to be dejected for the ill success of one Battel, and that those who overcame them now, they had formerly overcome, and the same might be performed again; but if that Fortune should

should obstinately declare her self for the *Poles*, there was still a place left them to retreat into, the Countrey of the *Turks*, where they might live with more freedom then in *Russia*, to which intent they had already wrote to the Bassa of *Silistria*.

So that many of the Peasants went every day to joyn with *Kmielniski*, and the *Cossacks* began their incursions and violencies in many places, particularly those who inhabit near the *Niester* and *Wallachia* who are more accustomed to these Robberies then the other. General *Potoski* had sent out two thousand men under the Command of the *Staroste* of *Kamienecz* his son against them, but instead of sending him the recruits which he demanded, he called him back again, judging it more convenient to keep his Forces in one body, the General sent afterwards seven Squadrons towards *Bialaciekiew* to hear news of the *Cossacks*, but instead of obeying their Orders, they fell to plunder a Town called *Pamolock*, and were met

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withal by two thousand *Cossacks*, and five hundred *Tartars* not far from thence, who set upon them, and drove them to the Gates of that Town, took away all their booty, and had utterly defeated them, had not the Forces of the Duke of *Wisnowitz* arrived in time to their assistance, by whose help they made head against those who pursued them, and drove part of them into their *Tabor*, and part into *Bialacerkiew*, it was known by some *Tartar* prisoners, taken upon this occasion, that there were but two thousand of them with *Kmielniski*, but that in a few days four thousand others were expected, and that the rest of those Infidels were gone to refresh their Horses in the Pastures of the desert Plains, and had received Orders to be in readiness to return upon the first occasion into *Poland*. This news made General *Potoski* to delay his march, till the arrival of his Foot and Baggage; when deliberating in Council, with his Officers what was to be done; they determined to seize upon *Chzastowa*, a Town on the way to *Kiowia*, to facilitate

cilitate their communication with it and their joyning with Prince *Radzevil*; while they lay expecting the Foot at *Pawolocx*, which marched but slowly; the Plague took away in the flower of his age *Michael Koributh*, Duke of *Wisniwitz*, who had given sufficient proof of his Valor and singular Conduct in all this War, by which he was deprived of the Revenue of a great Estate in *Ukrain*.

After that the Army had spent the five and twentieth of *August* in rendering their last Devoirs to this great person, they marched the next day towards *Trylisicz*, a place well fortified; this Garrison having sent a fierce answer to the summons of the *Polish* General to surrender themselves, he Commanded *Priemski*-General of the Artillery, and Commissary of the Army, and *Berg*, Lieutenant-Colonel to the Regiment of Prince *Bogislaws Radzevil*, with seven hundred *German* Foot to attack them; they lost threescore or fourscore men in the approaches,

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with Captain *strayse*, and Captain *Wahl*, but being relieved with the *Polish* Foot, in two hours time they made themselves Masters of the Town and Castle, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the besieged, among whom, even the Women did good service, and fought with their Sithes; all here were put to the sword without distinction of Sex or Age. The Governor of the place, a *Cossack*, was hanged in the heat of blood; the Town was plundered, and what could not be carried away, was with it reduced to Ashes, and this severity wrought better effects then perhaps Clemency could have done, for the Flames being perceived by those of *Chwastowa*, the three hundred *Cossacks* which guarded that Town, forsook it, and the Inhabitants also followed their example, although they might well have resisted the *Poles*, and put them to the expence of a great number of men.

Prince *Radzevil* expecting the Kings Orders, and that the *Polish* Army should
come

come to him, kept himself always near to *Kiovia*, not without some dangers; the Enemy endeavouring by all means possible to surprize him, or at least to hinder the General *Potoski* from joyn-
ing with him. Upon the sixteenth of *August* Colonel *Nold* being sent out by this Prince, discovered by the Wind-
mill near to the Gate of *Kiovia*, called the *Gilded Gate*; a great body of *Cossacks* mingled with *Tartars*, which soon alarmed the Camp, and a party of
Light Horse set upon them with such courage, that after they had taken a
Bridge which the enemies put much trust in for the securing themselves, they killed a thousand of them upon the
place; some of the prisoners confessed that this body of three thousand men was to have joyned with a thousand
more, with designe of falling upon the *Lithuanian* Army in their intrench-
ments.

Prince *Radzevil* after this advantage, set forward to joyn with the *Polish* Army, after that he had left a sufficient Garri-
son

fort in *Kiowla*, and furnished it with all things necessary for its preservation: General *Potoski* having sent fifteen hundred men before him, advanced with the rest of his Army as far as *Vasilikow*, to facilitate their conjunction; *Kmielniski* finding himself unable to hinder this, and foreseeing the damage he must receive from it, deputed divers to the General to Treat with him about an accommodation, and to desire him to interpose the credit he had with the Senate and the Polish Army, to prevent the effusion of so much blood as was ready to be spilled, and to bring the *Cossacks* in favour again with his Majesty of Poland, assuring him they would remain faithful in his service, and most Religiously observe the Treaty of *Zhoram*; these propositions of peace presented by *Kmielniski*, made small impressions upon the mind of the Polish General, who being well informed of the continual addresses which he made to the *Pers*, and to the *Cham*, to obtain a speedy supply, and consequently understood that all what he did, was but

but to gaintime and leisure to establish his affairs ; he resolved without delay to terminate this controversie by force of Arms. The *Polish* Army being now considerably reinforced, by the conjunction of the *Lythuanians*, consisting of nine thousand chosen men; *Kmielniski* although he had received a fresh supply of six thousand *Tartars*, did not neglect to make another attempt towards an accommodation, and the Palatine of *Kiovia* endeavoured with divers arguments to induce the Generals to put an end to this War, rather by a general Pardon, then by the continuation of so many cruelties ; representing to them that the many troubles which the soldiers had undergone in this Campagnia, and the Diseases reigning amongst them, had diminished, and did diminish daily a great number of them, so that the Generals *Potoski* and *Radzevil*, condescended to receive the *Cossacks* deputed to come and desire peace. *Kmielniski* desiring that some one might be dispatched to him, to conferre with *Vihanski* his Secretary, and

and intimate Friend, they sent to him *Makouski*, a Captain of Horse, with a Letter to him from the General *Potoski*, but because he gave him not the Title of General of the *Zaporovian* Army, this omission was taken for a great injury, and made a disturbance among the *Cossacks*; but *Makouski* having appeased them by giving them sufficient reasons for what was done; the conference began, in which the *Polish* Deputy proposed, that *Kmielniski* should send away the *Tartars*, and come himself to the *Polish* Camp and pay his respects to their Generals; he was against the first of these propositions for a long time, whatsoever his Secretary could do to draw from him his consent, but in the end he agreed to one as well as the other, although his Officers and the *Russian* Peasants expressed a great deal of repugnancy for the latter. But finding it not convenient to continue this conference in the *Cossacks* Camp, lest that the *Tartars* suspecting what they Treated of might attempt something against the persons of the

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Commissioners, *Vihonski* did very much instance that it might be removed to *Bialacierkiew*.

Makouski giving an account to the Generals of the *Polish* Army, of his Negotiation with the *Cossacks*, it was thought expedient to send Commissioners to *Bialacierkiew* as they desired, to this intent were deputed the Palatines of *Kiovia* and *Smolensko*. *Zowzienski*, High Steward of *Lythuania* and *Cossacouski*, second Judge of *Bracław*, whom they guarded with a great Convoy, of which five hundred Horse onely were permitted to enter the Town. These Commissioners Treating with those of *Kmielniski*, agreed of all the conditions of peace, excepting some few points which were afterwards to be decided in the two Camps, but were in great danger of their lives, first in the Army of the *Cossacks*, where *Kmielniski* and his Officers had enough to doe to defend them from the violencies of the *Tartars*, and the Peasants, who could not endure any propositions of Peace,

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suspecting always that one of their Articles would be to reduce them to their former servitude. The *Tartars* also set upon them in their return, and plundered part of their Baggage.

In the mean time General *Potoski* and Prince *Radzevil*, seeing that the Treaty was almost concluded, removed from *Hermanowka* to *Bialacerkiew*, the place where *Kmielniski* and the principal Commanders of the *Cossacks* were to renew their Oath of Allegiance to the King and State, at the approach of the *Polish* Army, the *Cossacks* seemed to be very much surprized, but they being certified that it was upon no other design then to oppose the incursions of the *Tartars*, new Commissioners were sent on both sides to conclude of what was left undecided at the last conference.

But the *Cossacks* instead of that presented new propositions, as if they had forgot what had been so lately determined, demanding the performance of the
Treaty

Treaty at Zborow; that the *Polish* Army should leave the frontiers, and give them liberty to maintain their confederacy with the *Tartars*, whom they acknowledged to be the true defenders of their privileges; so that after the *Poles* had reproached them of their lightness and infidelity, which must needs proceed from the news of some new supply from the *Tartars*, or the false report of the Grand Signior his sending some considerable Forces; they drew up their Army, and committed the right wing to Prince *Radzevil* with his *Lythuanians*, the left to *Kalinouski*, and reserved the main body for General *Potoski*. The *Cossacks* and *Tartars* came also out of their Camp, as if they had no other designe but to observe the posture of the *Poles*; there passed divers skirmishes between them for three days, and divers Companies of the Enemy hid themselves in Thickets and close places, making frequent attempts upon the *Polish* Army, annoying them sometimes in the Flank, and sometimes in the Reer, which it is thought they did

did to make the *Polish* Generals more tractable, and to obtain more advantageous conditions of peace. In the mean time they being wearied with the delays of *Kmielniski*, who pretended to disallow of all these attempts and skirmishes; and being earnest with him to declare his mind, he sent them upon the 26 of *September*, three Deputies to endeavor seriously the conclusion of the Treaty; these were much more moderate in their demands, although they were very different also from those agreed upon at *Bialacerkiew*; for after they had concluded that the number of the *Cossacks* inrolled, should amount to twenty thousand, they demanded also that they might have their Quarters in the Palatinates of *Braclaw* and *Czernihow*, and this being refused, they insisted, that at least the *Polish* Forces should not be quartered there during the time that *Kmielniski* was employed in inrolling the *Cossackian* Militia; and that they should give him for his own maintenance, the Territories of *Czircassy* and *Borowitza*. *Potoski* gave them

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to understand, that this latter demand could not be granted without express Orders from the King and State, but condescended to the other, after that *Kmielniski* had secretly informed him that he insisted upon it only to content the revolted Peasants, whom he thought not fit to irritate so long as they kept together, and made so considerable a body, so that there remained nothing but that he and his chief Officers should come and make their submissions to the *Polish* Generals, which he was inclinable enough to do, after he had received Hostages for his security, though divers of his Officers with great difficulty were brought to consent to it. Upon the 28 of *September*, he and the principal Commanders of the *Cossacks* came to the *Polish* Camp, where with much Humility, and the Tears in his Eyes (which he had always ready to shed, when the necessity of his affairs required) he asked Pardon of the Great General *Potoski*, and saluted Prince *Radzevil*, and the rest of the Nobility with all respect. In his presence were
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the Articles of the Treaty read, and being signed on both parts, and confirmed by Oath ; all ended in an entertainment which was given to those of his Train.

The Articles were these.

1. **T**hat in consideration of the submission and acknowledgement which the Zaporovian Army and its Commanders had made to be always obliged to serve the King and State ; This Army should be composed for the future of twenty thousand men, which were to be chosen and Registred by their General and Officers, and should have their Quarters in the Countey and Lands belonging to his Majesty in the Palatinates of Kiovia, Bracklaw, and Czernihow, but the Lands of the Nobility should be free from Quartering of Soldiers.

2. That if any of the Subjects of the Nobility were Registred in the Zaporovian Army, they should be bound to change their Habitations, and to transerre themselves into the Lands belonging to the King in the Palatinacy of Kiovia, but it should be free for them to sell their Goods, whither moveables

ables or others, and in what part soever they were, without any hindrance or molestation from their Landlords, the Staroste's or Substaroste's.

3. That they should begin to Register the twenty thousand Cossacks to be retained, within fifteen days, counting from the day of the date of this present Treaty; and that this List or Roll containing the name, surname, and abode of each particular Cossack, should be signed by the General of the Cossacks, should be sent to the King, and a Copy of a Copy be kept in the Rolls of Kiovia; that those were not Registered or Matriculated, should still enjoy the antient Rights and Priviledges of the Cossacks, but those who should be excluded, should be bound to the same Duty as formerly, in respect of the Kings Lands.

4. That the Polish Forces should have no Quarters in the Palatinacy of Kiovia, in those places assigned to the Cossacks, nor should the latter pretend to any Quarters designed for the Poles in the Palatinacy of Braclaw, and Czernihow, after the Feast of Christmas, by which time they were to make up the Register.

5. That

5. That the Gentlemen of the said Palatinacies of Kiovia, Braclaw, and Czernihow, should come into free possession again of their Estates or Starrosties, and draw from thence their Revenues as formerly, onely they should not receive any Taxes or Duties from their Subjects, till such time as the Register were finished, when it would be perfectly known who those were, who were to enjoy the priviledges of the Cossacks, and who not.

6. That the General of the Cossacks should have the Town of Czerin for his proper maintenance, and that Bogdan Kmieleński at present in that charge, and his successors should enjoy all Prerogatives belonging thereto, and dispose of all Places and Offices in the Army, and should be under the protection of the Generalissimo's of the Crown, to whom they should take an Oath of unalterable Fidelity.

7. That the Greek Religion which the Zaporovian Army professeth, should be maintained in its antient Liberty, and those Bishopricks, Monasteries, Churches, and Ecclesiastical Revenues, which had been usurped during the last War should be restored.

8. That

8. That those of the Nobility, either Catholics or Greeks, who had taken the Cossacks part, as also the Inhabitants of Kiovia should be included in the Bill of Oblivion, and consequently should be re-established in their Estates, Rights, Honours; and Priviledges; and that any sentence given against them, by reason of the last war, should remain Null and void.

9. That the Jews should keep their priviledges of being Free Citizens in the Lands belonging to the King and the Nobility; and that they should be permitted to Farm their Estates and Rights as formely.

10. That the Tartars who were in the Kingdom, should immediately retreat, without spoiling the Countrey, and should not be allowed any longer Quarters therein in what place soever; that the General of the Cossacks should doe his utmost to engage them for the future in the service of the State; but if that he could not accomplish it before the next Diet, he and his Cossacks should be bound to renounce their friendship, and to make War upon them as Enemies to the Crown of Poland; and that the Cossacks should not make any League, nor en-

tain any correspondence with them, or any other Neighboring Prince; but should remain in a perpetual and constant Fidelity and Obedience towards his Majesty and the State, of which they and their Successors were to give proofs upon all occasions when they should be Commanded.

11. That as there never was yet any Cossack inrolled for the guard of the Frontiers of Lythuania; so should there not be any at present, but all should remain as it was already agreed upon, within the Limits of the Palatinacy of Kiovia.

12. That seeing the said City of Kiovia was a Metropolitan, and a seat of Judicature, therefore there should be but few Cossacks Registered therein.

13. That for the greater security of this Treaty, both the Polish Commissioners and the General of the Zaporovian Army with their Commanders, should be bound by oath to keep it; after which the Polish Army should retire into their Quarters, while the Soldiers who were to compose the Zaporovian Army, might be chosen out and Registered; the Tartars should return into their Countrey, and the Cossacks home.

14. *That Kmielniski and the Zaporovian Army should send Deputies to the next Diet, most humbly to thank the King and the State for the pardon which he had granted them.*

A short time after the conclusion of this peace, the Great General *Potoski* died of an Apoplexy in the Town of *Laticzow*, worn out with years and the continual wearisome labors of War; in which he served, first under the famous General *Zolkjewitz*, he had been in a languishing condition since his last imprisonment in *Tartary*; and his great courage made him neglect those Remedies necessary for the re-establishment of his health; so desiring nothing else, as he would openly declare it to his friends, but to die in the Wars, and to finish his life in his Profession; his desires were at last accomplished, and beyond the satisfaction of ending his life so gloriously, he had this also; just at his death to terminate by his Valor and Conduct, a War so cruel and ruinous to his Countrey.

FINIS.